JAPAN AND THE TRANS-SIBERIAN RAILROAD, 1885-1905

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INTRODUCTION

Railroads are generally built for economic reasons and that is the way they are studied, but some railroads have another aspect that is equally, if not more, important. I propose to examine the strategic consequences of just one railroad, the Trans-Siberian. In doing so, I have considered the Chinese Eastern Railroad, as the branch through Manchuria was called, as a part of the Trans-Siberian since for all practical purposes it was a Russian national railway. The focus here is on Japan and on how the Japanese viewed the railroad, and how they reacted to it.

The Trans-Siberian railroad was one of those grand railroad schemes of the 19th century. Others with which an economic, but not a strategic, comparison may be made are the United States' Trans-continental and the Canadian Pacific. All three bridged continents; opened land for settlement, expanded trade and provided other economic stimuli, but neither of the North American railroads evoked the same strategic response the Russian railroad did. Even though Russia reached the coast, she remained hemmed in. All her ports froze during the winter, and the Japanese archipelago cut her off from the Pacific. In addition neither the United States nor Canada faced a threat from any other power on their western frontier, but Russia thought she did in the combination of China and Great Britain.

The only other major area of strategic railroads in the world was in the Middle East. There it was a question of the Russian threat to India and the British response. The solution was an ideal one. Both Persia and Afghanistan became a buffer zone, and no railroads were built in either country. Such a solution was not possible in Korea because the Japanese regarded it as their first line of defense, and they would never be content to leave it sunk in backwardness and too weak to defend itself.

Set against this background, the Trans-Siberian need not be seen as an isolated event. Its purpose was, first of all, strategic. The government in St. Petersburg and officials responsible for the Far East were particularly anxious to avoid a repetition of the events of 1854 when the British had attacked their relatively undefended eastern flank with impunity. At the same time they were worried about the Chinese settlement of Manchuria, seeing in it a future threat that might deprive them of an outlet to the sea. Without an all-weather means of transport, it took months to move troops across Siberia, and any Russian shipping that traveled via the Indian Ocean would be prey to the British. In fact the Russian squadron based at Vladivostok wintered in Japan. There was another reason for the railroad that will not be discussed here: the development of Siberia both as an outlet for the over-populated central provinces and for the natural resources.

Once the government began to build the railroad between the

Urals and Vladivostok, the next steps followed in logical succession. First it was a short cut across Manchuria in order to avoid the difficult and costly construction that would be required should the route follow the Amur River as originally planned. Then it was the acquisition of an ice-free port. The line across Manchuria offered two possibilities: either to some Korean port or to the Liaotung peninsula. The choice became a matter of dispute within the Russian government, but the Foreign Minister had his way and the latter alternative was chosen. The succeeding step was the consolidation of Russian interests in Manchuria to protect the railroads. In effect this meant shutting out other countries. Something the Japanese were not prepared to accept.

The Japanese response to the Russian railroad may be divided into three broad tendencies. One group of men which saw it as a threat may be called the "defensists." As the name implies they were interested in preparing Japan's defenses for what they considered to be the logical culmination of a new concentration of Russian power in the Far East: the partition of China. More important still, Korea, Japan's first line of defense, offered many ice-free ports, and these men did not expect Russia to pass up the opportunity to acquire a year-round outlet and predominant influence in that backward kingdom. Not only did they argue for increased army and navy spending, but they also

supported those interested in building a railroad in Korea.

The second group of men, which might be called the "economists," was more interested in taking advantage of the Russian railroad than it was concerned with any vague threat. This group saw a chance to expand Japanese exports to Siberia, Russia and Europe and to make Japan the central way station on an east-west trade route. Therefore as positive measures, members of this group supported language schools, advocated construction of railroads in Japan to ports on the Japan Sea, proposed that more ports for trade with Russia be opened, were active in organizing associations and trade firms to do business with Russia, and established shipping lines between Japan and Siberia. The one important point on which they agreed with the "defensists" was the necessity for Japanese railroads in Korea. The "economists" saw such lines, when connected with the Chinese Eastern Railroad and the Chinese railroad in Manchuria, as an important means of attracting through traffic to Japan.

The third group of men was small and uninfluential, but had their idea prevailed a war might have been avoided or at least postponed. They proposed that Russia be given a free hand in Manchuria and that Japan, while protecting the independence of Korea, turn her attention to the south. This proposal turned up again just before the beginning of the Second World War, and then it was decided to move south.

The railroad then offers one facet of international relations. As Russia moved into the Far East Japan developed her own expansionist momentum, and the two states moved toward collision. The first part of this study discusses the early arguments for a railroad and conditions in the Russian Far East. Once construction was begun, and not without opposition, some in St. Petersburg began to consider the possibilities which China would offer. In the Japanese response to the railroad, one may follow the "defensist"-"economist" argument easily.

The second part of the study poses the question of conflict or peaceful co-existence. The construction of the Chinese Eastern Railroad made the arguments of the Japanese "defensists" more acute, and Korea became the center of attention as Japan attempted to build a railroad between Seoul and Pusan. However trade was expanding, and the public in Japan by no means saw a war as inevitable. Still, the trade never reached the expected volume. The reasons for this and for the continued deterioration of political relations are explored.

The final part describes the descent to war. As political relations worsened the Japanese government took a hand in the construction of the Seoul-Pusan railroad. At the same time it worked to obtain the concession for the Seoul-Uiju line and to deny it to the Russians. In Manchuria the condition of the CER became a matter of concern to both sides since its carrying

capacity would decide the victor in case of war.

In pursuing this topic, one notices that relatively few books on Russia's relations with the Far East stand out, and of these fewer still deal with Japan in any knowledgeable way. For the period under study here, although the Japanese Gaikō bunsho (Diplomatic documents) has been available for almost 20 years, little use has been made of it. John A. White used it for his study of the diplomacy of the Russo-Japanese War as did Ian Nish in his monograph on the Anglo-Japanese alliance. However the former is concerned chiefly with the period immediately preceding the war, and the latter is interested in Russia only peripherally, although he does have an article on the role of Korea in Russo-Japanese relations. There are books on the formation of Japanese foreign policy during the war and studies of Japanese-Korean relations based on Japanese documents, but almost nothing concerning Russia, and even these deal primarily with the diplomatic aspects of relations and ignore, for the most part, economic and cultural features.

Works based on Russian sources are more common, but then the basic Russian materials have been known for years. B. B. Glinskii, B. A. Romanov and the various articles in Krasnyi arkhiv remain about the only official documentation. These and a few others were all available to Andrew Malozemoff for his almost unsurpassed survey of Russian relations with Asia

from 1881 to 1904. Even Soviet scholars have difficulty gaining admission to the archives. Perhaps the most notable works in the past 20 years are those of A. L. Narochnitskii who covers the period 1860-1895 and who made excellent use of the archives; a small article by V. P. Nikhamin on Russian activity in Korea in 1895-96; and the book of G. Efimov who wrote on China's foreign policy. Russian intentions in Korea are poorly represented. Virtually all our information comes from Romanov or Nikhamin or the American, British and Japanese representatives who were not always well informed.

I propose to move away from the strictly diplomatic portrayal of Russo-Japanese relations and focus on the Russian railroads and the hopes and fears they inspired in Japan. There is much more to the story than one treaty after another over Korea or fears of the partition of China. Russia was in the Far East to stay, and she could remain only with a firm economic base. This was the railroad's central role, and many Japanese wanted to use that railroad to their own advantage.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Table of Contents (Continued)

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF MAPS

ABBREVIATIONS

CER. I.O.	Chinese Eastern Railway. Kitaiskaia vostochnaia zheleznaia doroga. Istoricheskii ocherk. (St. Petersburg, 1914).
CSPSR	Chinese Social and Political Science Review
Chōsen tetsudō shi (1915)	Chōsen. Government-General. Chōsen tetsudō shi (Keijō, 1915)
Chōsen tetsudō shi (1937)	Chōsen tetsudō iinkai, Chōsen tetsudō shi. Dai ikkan. Sōshi jidai (Keijō, 1937).
Commercial Relations	United States. Department of State. Bureau of Foreign Commerce. Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Countries (Washington, D. C., annual)
Consular Reports	United States. Department of State. Bureau of Statistics. Consular Reports
"First steps,"	A. Popov, "First Steps of Russian Imperialism in the Far East," Chinese Social and Political Science Review, XVIII, No. 2 (July, 1934), 236-281.
FO 46/	Great Britain. Foreign Office. Japan. General Correspondence, 1894-1895.
Gikai shi	Dai Nihon teikoku gikai shi (Tokyo, 1926), I-V
Glinskii	B. B. Glinskii, Prolog russko-iaponskoi voiny. Materialy iz arkiv grafa S.Iu. Vitte (Petrograd, 1916).
HSRS:G	Hiratsuka Atsushi, ed., Itō Hirobumi hisho ruisan. Gaikō hen, III (Tokyo, 1936).
IIGO	Izvestiia Imperatorskago geograficheskago obshchestvo

Imai	Imai Shōji, "Nichi-Ro sensō zengo Manshū zairyū Nihonjin no bunpu jōtai," Rekishi Chiri, LXXXIX (1960), 171-183.
Ishizawa	Ishizawa Hasshin, Hakuzan kokusui (Tokyo, 1900).
Itō den	Shumpō kō tsuishōkai, Itō Hirobumi den (Tokyo, 1943), 3v.
JFM	Japan. Foreign Ministry.
JFMA	Japan. Foreign Ministry Archives.
JWM	Japan Weekly Mail
Monthly Summary	United States. Treasury Department. Bureau of Statistics. Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance (Washington, D. C., monthly)
Narochnitskii	A. L. Narochnitskii, Kolonial'naia politika kapitalisticheskikh derzhav na Dal'nem Vostoke, 1860-1895 (Moscow, 1956).
NGB	Japan. Foreign Ministry. Nihon gaikō bunshō
Oyama, Ikensho	Oyama Azusa. Yamagata Aritomo ikensho (Tokyo, 1966).
"Pervye shagi,"	A. Popov, "Pervye shagi russkago imperializma na Dal'nem Vostoke (1888-1903)," Krasnyi Arkhiv, LII (1932), 91-124.
Romanov	B. A. Romanov, Russia in Manchuria (1892-1906), trans. Susan W. Jones (Ann Arbor, 1952).
Ryōhei den	Kokuryukai kurabu, ed., Kokushi Uchida Ryōhei den (Tokyo, 1967).

Sbornik po Azii	Russia. Glavnyi General Shtab. Sbornik geograficheskikh, topograficheskikh i statisticheskikh materialov po Azii (St. Petersburg, 1883-1914), 87 vols.
Selikhov	M. N. Selikhov, "Sibir pod vliianiem velikago rel'sovago puti. (Ekonomicheskii ocherk)," Sibirskii torogovopromyshlennyi i spravochnyi kalendar' na 1902 god (Tomsk, 1902), pp. 3-184.
"Shiberia tetsudō"	JFMA. MT 1.7.3.5 "Shiberia tetsudō kankei zassan, July 1890-December 1907," microfilm reel 604.
SSMH	Nakayama Yasumasa, ed., Shimbun shūsei Meiji hennen shi (Tokyo, 1934-40), vols. 8-12.
Takashima	Takashima Masaaki, "Urajibosutoku bōeki to gaikoku kawase kinyū," Tochi seido shigaku, XIV, No. 4 (July, 1972), 35-50.
"Tō-Shi tetsudō,"	JFMA. S 6.1.9.2-12, "Tō-Shi tetsudō kankei ikken zassan, Oct. 1895-Oct. 1910," microfilm reel 147.
TSSK	Kokuryūkai, ed., TōA senkaku shishi kiden (Tokyo, 1933), 3 vols.
USDS	United States. Department of State.
Newchwang	Dispatches from the U. S. Consul in Newchwang.
Russia	Dispatches from the U. S. Minister to Russia.
Japan	Dispatches from the U. S. Minister to Japan.
Korea	Dispatches from the U. S. Minister to Korea.

PART ONE: A NEW ERA

CHAPTER I. THE RUSSIAN INITIATIVE

The early arguments for a Trans-Siberian railroad arose from two principal groups: those who wanted to develop Siberia and those who perceived British and Chinese threats to the almost undefended Russian Far Eastern territories. While neither threat was so great as some officials in Siberia imagined it, anxiety led them to agitate for a railroad. Opposition was not slow in forming. It came from the Ministry of Finance who saw only another burden being added to an already overwhelming debt, and from some settlers in Siberia who feared it would be built in such a way as to benefit those in European Russia more than themselves. However opposition was overcome and construction began. Vladivostok, the principal naval base in the Pacific was the natural terminus, but as construction progressed, certain government officials began to consider the possibility of shortening the line and making it easier to build, by laying it across Manchuria. This in turn could only create other problems.

The Need for a Siberian Railroad

Many had proposed to build a railroad into Siberia. Some even had firm plans, but few had any idea of the difficulties involved. However before the mid-1880's none of these plans

had been considered very carefully.[1] Then in 1885-1886 there was a dramatic change in the balance of power in the Far East. In 1885 Great Britain occupied Port Hamilton (Komun Island) at the southern tip of Korea. This had the effect of moving British naval power closer to the Russian fleet based at Vladivostok. At the same time events in China also made a railroad more desirable.

In 1885-1886 Aleksei Pavlovich Ignat'ev, Governor-General of Irkutsk (1885-89), drew up a report on conditions in Eastern Siberia. He advocated a railroad joining European Russia with the Amur basin to counter a new Chinese menace. This threat lay in the continued flow of Chinese into the eastern regions of Siberia, and the attempt by the Chinese government to remodel its army on Western lines. While emphasizing strategic aspects, Ignat'ev did not fail to mention that the railroad would benefit Siberian industry and would allow the export of Russian goods to China to redress the balance of trade. On this report Alexander III, Emperor of Russia, noted: "How many of these reports of the Governors-General of Siberia I have already read, and must recognize, with shame and sadness, that the government, until now, has done almost nothing for the satisfaction of the wants of this rich but neglected region. It is time, high time!"[2]

Baron Andrei Nikolaevich Korf, Governor-General of the Priamur (1884-93), supported Ignat'ev's recommendation.

Korf considered the construction of the railroad necessary since the mountainous character of the Far East did not permit construction of an all-water route. A. K. Sidensner had proposed an almost continuous water route, needing only a railroad of 12 miles across the Iablonov ridge in the Transbaikal. He had already begun work on a canal to connect the Ob and Enisei basins (it was finished in 1894) that would allow a water route all the way to Irkutsk.[3] Korf also noted that a railroad would decrease the expenditures Russia was making on tea imported via Mongolia. The money thus saved would remain in the region and aid in its development. According to Colonel N. A. Voloshinov, nearly 15,873 tons of tea a year were imported into Russia via the Kiakhta customs station. Of this 13,492 tons came across Mongolia and the remainder travelled by sea to Nikolaevsk and thence up the Amur River. Tea imported over the latter route was 31.5 rubles per ton cheaper, and it might be cheaper still if there were no special conditions attached to its use. Moreover it cost about 504 rubles per ton to transport tea across Mongolia. With a railroad this transport cost would be saved, and Russia would save several million rubles annually.[4]

Strategically Korf pointed out the government would be able to deploy regular forces rapidly in the Amur region with a railroad. Voloshinov claimed it took 10 days for passengers (and troops) to make the trip between Tiumen and Tomsk via the

Irtysh and Ob rivers, and 40-50 days from Tomsk to Irkutsk. This is almost two months. In the winter when the rivers froze, it would take longer.[5] Finally Korf declared that the railroad would serve to equalize the price of grain in various parts of the Transbaikal and eliminate the economic dependence of the Amur on Manchurian grain and cattle.[6]

Korf's views resulted from a conference he had called earlier to discuss the possibility of a railroad. Composed of local officials and various prominent men living in the Russian Far East, it had considered two lines: the Transbaikal, running from the eastern bank of Lake Baikal to Sretensk (663 miles) and the Ussuri, from Vladivostok to the town of Grafskaia on the Ussuri River (265 miles). Construction of both would allow a continuous link between Vladivostok and Irkutsk, and via the Angara River, with Krasnoiarsk.

The conference found that a railroad from Lake Baikal to Sretensk could be built for about 18,240,000 rubles, or about 28,952 rubles per mile over a 630 mile line. The operating cost could be covered by increasing the duty on tea. Korf worked out the details for a narrow gauge railroad and presented the plan for discussion in St. Petersburg.[7]

The conference, meeting in St. Petersburg in December 1886, came to the conclusion that the line had the most important political and strategic significance and that construction should be

begun as soon as possible. However Aleksandr Ivanovich Vyshnegradskii, Minister of Finance (1887-92) pointed out that financial circumstances did not even allow surveys to be begun.[8]

The next month a conference on political affairs in the Far East put new pressure on Vyshnegradskii. The meeting of January 26/February 7, 1887 heard Baron Korf declare that the Chinese army and the English presented a serious danger to Russia, particularly on the Korean question. While he did not advocate Russian possession of Korea, Korf did not want either Japan or China to seize that small country. Yet he saw, undoubtedly after consideration of the lack of a Russian railroad in the Far East, that a clash with China over Korea "could under no circumstances be justified."

The conference decided to strengthen the Russian army and navy in the Far East. The navy wanted to increase the number of fighting ships there to 12 and proposed to use three ships from the Mediterranean squadron. However the Emperor, knowing that the supplementary expenditure of 600,000 rubles would be too much, gave the journal to Vyshnegradskii, who usually pigeon-holed such expenditures.[9]

Viewed from St. Petersburg, the Russian weakness in the Far East and Siberia as a whole was a very real one. In 1893 there were only about 900,000 people in East Siberia, spread over an area of about 1.3 million square miles. By the first

real census in 1897 this figure had climbed to only a little over a million. This meant only 0.6 and 0.8 persons per square mile in 1893 and 1897 respectively. The Transbaikal oblast had approximately 570,000 persons in 1893 and 672,000 in 1897, or 2.4 and 2.8 persons per square mile. For the Amur the figures were 80,000 people in 1893 and 120,000 in 1897; that is 0.4 and 0.6 people per square mile. Finally in the Primorsk, that area bordering directly on the Sea of Japan, there were only 90,000 people in 1893 and 188,000 four years later, or a growth of from 0.4 to 0.8 persons per square mile.[10]

If the population was spread thinly, industry was comparably weak. In Irkutsk province in 1890 there were 96 factories with an annual production of 2,511,202 rubles. Yet within ten years this had fallen to 89 factories producing only 987,402 rubles. In the Transbaikal in 1890 there were 252 factories with a production of almost 6.5 million rubles. By 1901 factories had increased to 310 and production to 8.7 million rubles. However it was the Primorsk that showed the most rapid sustained growth. In 1890 there were 220 factories with a combined production of only 500,000 rubles, yet by 1901 the number had increased 2 1/2 times to 776 and production had increased about six times to a little over three million rubles.[11]

As the figures above indicate, Russia's first task was to increase the Russian population in the Far East and the Amur.

Lieutenant General D. G. Anuchin, Governor-General of Eastern Siberia (1880-84), first began sending settlers by sea at government expense. Between 1883 and 1898, 4,969 families of 33,931 people made the trip to the Far East.[12] The number of families arriving in the Amur was somewhat smaller, 4,270. Only a little more than half of those setting out for the Amur ever reached their destination. The registration stations at Tomsk, Achinsk and Blagoveshchensk discovered that between 1887 and 1896, 46% of those originally setting out never made it. The government report found four causes: (1) the difficulty of crossing the continent; (2) the possibility of finding a good place somewhere along the way; (3) finding work on the Trans-Siberian railroad; (4) becoming discouraged by news from those returning.[13]

The most important part of Primorsk oblast was the South Ussuri district and its center was Vladivostok, the home of the Russian Far Eastern squadron and seat of the Military Governor and civil administration of Primorsk oblast.[14] Because of the district's administrative importance the Russians feared a large foreign population. While there are few population figures, one report finds 46,179 Russians in the Primorsk in 1890 and 6,215 Chinese. However many of the Russians may have been soldiers who would have added little to the productive population. Of the total population in 1890 of 101,340, approximately 20% or

20,113 were either Chinese, Japanese or Korean.[15]

One area of the South Ussuri, that around Pos'et, a town to the southwest of Vladivostok, will serve as a good example. In 1891 it contained 13,935 persons, almost one-third of the total of the South Ussuri district. Of these 7,058 or 50.6% were Korean, 6,692 or 48.1% were Russian and the remainder Chinese. However of the Russians, 6,265 were soldiers. That is 93.5% of the total Russian population. The area, bordering on Korea and Manchuria, was settled and economically controlled by the Koreans.[16]

The North Ussuri was the last area to be settled by the Russians. Centered at Khabarovsk, as of January 1, 1884, it contained only 2,834 Russians and almost the same number of Chinese and natives. Of the almost 550,000 square miles of land, only 6,508 acres were cultivated: 4,682 by the Cossacks and 1,826 by the natives.[17] Immigrants coming overland did not begin to settle the North Ussuri until 1892, and by the fall of 1897 they had formed only seven villages along the banks of the Amur, the lower course of the Ussuri and the Ussuri tributaries the Kii and the Khora.[18]

Conditions in the Transbaikal and Amur oblasts were little better. On January 1, 1891 in the Transbaikal there were 580,233 people on 252,748 square miles of land or about 2.3 people per square mile. Unfortunately there is no breakdown of

the population by ethnic groups.[19] In the Amur in 1893 there were 82,000 Russians and by 1895 the number had increased to 102,414. The number of Chinese is uncertain. The Russian government tried to take a census in the Chinese area in 1894, but according to one observer more than half of the Chinese hid from the census takers. V. L. Komarov, who made a study of the area, found that conditions in the Amur were slowly improving, but development was hampered by the lack of roads and regular markets. Komarov foresaw a crisis in the future because the arable land was filling up. This coupled with the opening of trade with Manchuria presented the Russian peasant with a threat. No Russian could compete with a Chinese farmer in Manchuria in getting grain to market.[20]

There could be no doubt the influence the Trans-Siberian railroad would have. In the Transbaikal between 1884 and 1890 there had been six bad or moderate harvests and only one good one. That meant there was little possibility of the population storing grain reserves. Without these reserves troops could not be moved unless they carried their own supplies because the population could not feed them. Nor was there a uniform price for grain. A railroad would aid in equalizing the price by facilitating the transport of grain from one locality to the next and in moving troops rapidly.[21]

The ability to move troops quickly was a dire necessity.

On January 1, 1891, Baron Korf had only about 24,000 men at his disposal, and the government did not have the money to send reinforcements. Yet of these 24,200 only 60% were fit for active duty and they had about 3,300 miles of frontier to defend.[22] Furthermore a report of 1883 noted that for about 3 1/2 months out of the year, all communication in the Priamur ceased. In the spring during the thaw and in the fall during the freeze roads and rivers became impassable. Should China attack toward Vladivostok in the middle of March, reinforcements from Khabarovsk would take about two months to arrive, and those from the Transbaikal, under the best of conditions, would not arrive for about three months.[23]

In June 1887 in their annual reports, Ignat'ev and Korf once again pointed out the significance a railroad would have in view of possible political complications. This time they pushed for a railroad from the Ob River to the Amur, estimating its construction cost at 90 million rubles and yearly operating expenditures at 9.5 million rubles. A special conference agreed that a means of better communication with the Far East was becoming more urgent yearly and directed that surveys between Tomsk and Sretensk and between Vladivostok and Lake Khanka be begun. The Minister of Ways of Communications worked out the details. His proposal called for a line that would not be up to European standards. The gradients would be steeper and the radius of

the curves smaller. This would permit three pairs of trains (a pair is one train each way) in 24 hours at a speed of a little over 13 miles per hour. Moreover all bridges would be wooden, and there would be steam ferries instead of bridges over the large rivers. The Committee of Ministers approved and directed that the surveys be carried out over the following two years, but wanted those on the Ussuri railroad completed by the fall of 1888. The Committee authorized 436,000 rubles for the work, but Vyshnegradskii would advance only 200,000 rubles.[24]

With surveys at last underway, Korf reported in October that British action to facilitate communication with China (construction of the Canadian Pacific Railroad and a subsidy for a steamship company in the Pacific) and Chinese actions, i.e., the building of a telegraph and measures for military organization, made the necessity for a Trans-Siberian railroad all the more obvious.[25]

Taking this note as a cue, Konstantin Nikolaevich Pos'et, Minister of Ways of Communication (1874-88), proposed that a credit be assigned without waiting for the surveys to be completed to allow him to begin gathering wood, stone, rails, ties, and rolling stock in order that construction could be begun in 1889. Petr Semenovich Vannovskii, Minister of War (1881-89) agreed, and Korf again pointed out the strategic significance the line would have and the economies it would offer in the transport of lower officials and prisoners to Siberia.[26]

When the Committee of Ministers at meetings on November 17/29 and November 24/December 6, 1887 agreed that state finances made it impossible to begin construction, Pos'et reduced his request to one and a half to two million rubles to begin work on the Ussuri section alone. In this he was supported by Ivan Alekseevich Shestakov, Acting Minister of the Navy (1882-88), who noted the extreme importance of the Ussuri line in strengthening Russia's position in the Priamur and the Ussuri regions. The Committee, however, decided against construction, but instructed Pos'et to take measures to carry out the surveys quickly on the Ussuri section.[27]

At this time Russia's policy in the Far East was strictly defensive. In a study of the Korean question made on April 26/May 8, 1888, Baron Korf and Ivan Alekseevich Zinov'ev, Director of the Asiatic Department of the Foreign Ministry (1883-91), found that there would be no advantage to be gained by the Russian occupation of Korea. Indeed there would be a greater disadvantage since Russia would have to defend the peninsula. Moreover there could be no question of a war with China over Korea. Consequently Russia could only use peaceful means and moral pressure to keep China from occupying that country. Should China actually seize Korea, Russia might go so far as a naval demonstration or the occupation of some point on the Korean coast, but it should be made clear that Russia would withdraw as

soon as China removed her troops.[28]

The Foreign Ministry was slower to swing to the side of those promoting the railroad by pointing to a Chinese threat. Russia's statesmen saw little chance of a Chinese invasion of Russia. Still, Count Vladimir Nikolaevich Lamzdorf, Senior Councillor (1886-97), was finally persuaded of the necessity for a railroad in Siberia when Dmitrii Egorovich Shevich, Minister to Japan (1886-92) reported that according to a Chinese newspaper, Li Hung-chang, Viceroy of Chihli, had said that China had nothing to fear from Russia in view of Russia's extreme weakness along the frontier.[29]

In St. Petersburg military officials watched Chinese actions in Manchuria with foreboding. In March 1890 General Pavel Fedorovich Unterberger, Military Governor of Priamur Oblast (1888-97), recommended a policy of moderation toward China to the General Staff since Russia could oppose only 20 battalions to the 80,000 Chinese soldiers in Manchuria. He also used the occasion to urge the speedy settlement of the question of the Siberian railroad which would be the best means of counteracting the Chinese movement north.[30]

In 1887 Chinese military colonists had begun opening Kirin, the province bordering on the Russian Primorsk. They were provided with land, cattle, seed, and a food allowance until the first harvest. In addition all officers, deputies, and secretaries

were to be provided with a liberal pay allowance. The next year the government turned these and other military colonists into peasant holders. The conversion would take place over a three-year period after which the farmers would then be subject to the tax.[31]

Another sign of Chinese activity in Manchuria was the provision for gunboats on the Sungari River. These were to combat bandits, but St. Petersburg could only see them as a potential threat since the Sungari flowed into the Amur.[32] In 1890 the Chinese government began shipping modern arms to Kirin and the arsenal there hired a foreign superintendent and several skilled Chinese from the south to increase efficiency.[33] However the thing that bothered the Russians the most was Chinese railroad construction.

Chinese lines of communication were shorter than the Russian lines. It took about one month to go by cart from Newchwang to San-hsing on the Sungari above Kirin and only about 20 days to Kirin, provided the weather was good. Yet to make travel easier China was building a railroad. It began as a steam tramway from the K'ai-p'ing mines to the Pe-t'ang River, but was extended to Tientsin in 1888. In March 1887 Li Hung-chang received permission to build to Shan-hai-kuan, although the line was not completed until 1894. However Li wanted to push on further into Manchuria, and the British engineer, C. W. Kinder,

began surveying the route in 1890.[34]

Behind this construction the Russian Foreign Minister (1882-95), Nikolai Karlovich Girs', saw the Anglo-Chinese press instigating the Chinese government against Russia, and indeed he was correct. On August 20, 1887, The Chinese Times had noted the danger the Trans-Siberian railroad would pose to China and had suggested that China build a railroad to Mukden, the capital of Kirin province, and then branches to Tsitsihar, the capital of Heilungkiang province and on to the Russian city of Blagoveshchensk, and to a point near Pos'et. This latter line would permit better communications with Korea and would allow China to protect Port Lazarev. On December 10 the paper again returned to the subject and proposed that the second branch should be Mukden-Kirin-San-hsing and Kirin-Ninguta-Han-ch'un. Thereafter the paper kept urging China to build the Kirin line. On August 24, 1889 it warned against dilly-dallying on construction. On November 16 the paper declared that should Russia absorb the three northeastern provinces China would "be like a swordsman whose guard is passed, and who feels the blade of his foe pressed against his very breast."

In light of increasing Chinese activity and Unterberger's urgings, the Russian government became active. In May 1890 Adol'f Iakovlevich Giubbenet, Minister of Ways of Communication (1889-92), made new proposals for the Ussuri line, and

General Vannovskii once again supported him. However the Committee of Ministers felt financial conditions made work impossible. Two months later Korf again decried the difficulty of communication with Vladivostok and the South Ussuri district and the impossibility of defending the area because of the distance the reserves would have to move. Moreover conditions were becoming even more dangerous now that China had an English engineer surveying a railroad that would run all the way to the Russian border at Hun-ch'un. This was too much for Alexander III, and he noted: "Necessary to begin immediately construction of this road."[35]

According to a report in The Times of July 4, 1890 a special commission, assisted by a committee in Vladivostok, had been established to carry out certain measures to counteract Chinese attempts to turn Manchuria into an anti-Russian outpost. These included the building of a railroad, hurrying the settlement of the Amur and Ussuri districts, increasing the military forces in those areas, and restricting the entry of Chinese colonists into Russian territory.

On August 12/24 the Foreign Minister urged the Minister of Finance to build the railroad. Girs' said he thought it necessary to proceed with construction for defensive reasons. While there was no basis for fears of Chinese plans against Russian territory, the Anglo-Chinese press was inciting the Chinese against Russia,

and should there be a war with one of the sea powers, that power would undoubtedly try to induce China to fight on her side. So a Russian railroad might be viewed as a precautionary measure against both Great Britain and China.[36]

The Minister of Finance, Vyshnegradskii, had always been opposed to the railroad on financial grounds. He had refused to provide money or provided less than had been authorized since December 1886, but his thoughts are best expressed in his note of November 15/27, 1890. In it he concluded that a railroad must be begun from the west. Passing through the most populous, most developed regions of Siberia, the railroad would generate its own revenue. Moreover it would allow the duty on tea imported through Irkutsk to be raised to offset part of the expenditures for construction. He felt that construction should begin with the Tomsk-Irkutsk section since Tomsk was already connected with European Russia by water and because no point had yet been chosen for joining the Siberian railroad with the Russian European network.

Vyshnegradskii opposed construction of the Ussuri line. Not only would it offer no particular benefits to Russia, it would facilitate the economic penetration of Siberia by the United States. Furthermore he did not believe the railroad promised much militarily, despite what Korf and the other military men were saying, because it would not greatly hasten the arrival of reinforcements

"regionalists" (oblastniki) did not think the government paid enough attention to what was necessary for Siberia.[40] However the opposition was never strong enough to overcome the government's desire for the railroad, and plans proceeded.

Construction

When the Committee of Ministers discussed the question of the Trans-Siberian railroad on February 12/24, 1891 they agreed that while the Ussuri railroad could only be built as part of a continuous Trans-Siberian line, its construction was a matter of the utmost importance for Russia. Vyshnegradskii made no attempt to oppose this conclusion directly, but he did point out that beginning construction at both ends of a railroad almost 5,000 miles long would create havoc in state finances and that Russia would probably have to raise a large loan in the near future. He also observed that since such a line offered little chance of paying for itself, it would become a direct burden on the state treasury for some time to come.

Nevertheless the Committee resolved (1) to approve the direction of the Ussuri railroad from Vladivostok to Grafskaia station; (2) to commence the construction of the Mias-Cheliabinsk line in 1891; (3) to conduct surveys the same year from Cheliabinsk to Tomsk or some other point on the mid-Siberian section, and from Grafskaia to Khabarovsk; and (4) to carry out these

works under state direction. Work got underway in Vladivostok on May 19/31, 1891 when Tsesarevich Nicholas formally pushed the first wheelbarrow of earth.[41]

The Minister of Ways of Communication submitted his estimates for construction on August 9/21, 1891. They called for a total cost of 349,878,036 rubles or about 79,000 rubles per mile. Regular traffic should be opened to Achinsk in the west and Khabarovsk in the east in 1895, to Irkutsk by 1899, and the entire line completed in 1903. When he asked Vyshnegradskii about the means, the Minister of Finance was vague, but a special conference earmarked 5.9 million rubles for construction in 1892, and the Emperor later raised it to seven million.[42]

In February 1892 the man who would actually build the railroad and play such a crucial role in the formulation of Russia's Far Eastern policy became Minister of Ways of Communication and was thus in charge of the construction of the railway. Sergei Iulevich Witte graduated from Odessa University and took a job with the Odessa railroad government. There he rose rapidly and soon became director. As such he came to the notice of the Emperor and was offered the post of Director of the Department of Railroad Affairs. Witte accepted and moved up to become Minister of Ways of Communication in February. Six months later he replaced Vyshnegradskii as Minister of Finance.[43]

Witte presented his plan for the Siberian railroad in

November 1892 and a special conference discussed it on November 21/December 3.[44] There was really little new among the advantages he foresaw would accrue to Russia as a consequence of the Trans-Siberian. It would be a means to supply Siberian grain to the European market and a way to facilitate immigration to Siberia. He pointed out its importance to the transit trade, noting the Canadian Pacific Railroad had shortened the time between Asia and Europe from 45 days via Suez to 35 days.[45] Now the Trans-Siberian would cut this still further to 18-20 days. Witte also observed that the Canadian Pacific had allowed the opening of new land and went on to estimate that if a zone only 60 miles wide along the railroad was usable, that would mean 623,380 square miles of new land.

Witte also hoped to open new markets for Russia in China, Japan, and Korea. Those three countries had a combined population of about 500 million, and Russia could benefit from such a market if only by proximity.[46] Furthermore he hoped for a rapproachement with China by carrying her tea to Europe. Chinese tea exports were declining because Indian and Ceylonese teas could reach the European market much faster.

The Minister of Finance submitted four items to the conference that needed to be decided: (1) the determination of the order of construction; (2) the means to carry it out; (3) the coordination of work on the railroad with the subsidiary

enterprises; and (4) the organization of a Committee for the Siberian Railroad.

On the first question Admiral Nikolai Mateevich Chikhachev, Acting Minister of the Navy (1886-96) asked that construction not be limited to only one section, but be begun immediately all along the line from Cheliabinsk to Vladivostok. That would allow completion, except for the circumbaikal section, by 1900. The conference rejected this, both because of technical difficulties and because the Minister of War, Vannovskii, declared it would be very awkward, strategically, to build from the east until such time as the line was connected directly to the internal communication network of the Empire.

In the end Witte's proposal carried. It called for construction to be divided into three groups:

Group I. West Siberian from Cheliabinsk to the Ob (800 miles). Mid-Siberian from the Ob to Irkutsk (1,162 miles). South Ussuri from Vladivostok to Grafskaia (253 miles).

Group II. North Ussuri from Grafskaia to Khabarovsk (230 miles). Transbaikal from Mysovaia to Sretensk (669 miles).

Group III. Circumbaikal from Irkutsk to Mysovaia (194 miles). Amur from Sretensk to Khabarovsk (1,326 miles).

The first group was to be finished during 1894-1900: the whole of the West Siberian and part of the Mid-Siberian from the Ob to Krasnoiarsk (469 miles) in 1896; the remainder of the

Mid-Siberian from Krasnoiarsk to Irkutsk (693 miles) in 1900; and the South Ussuri in 1894-95. The timetable for the second and third groups remained open.

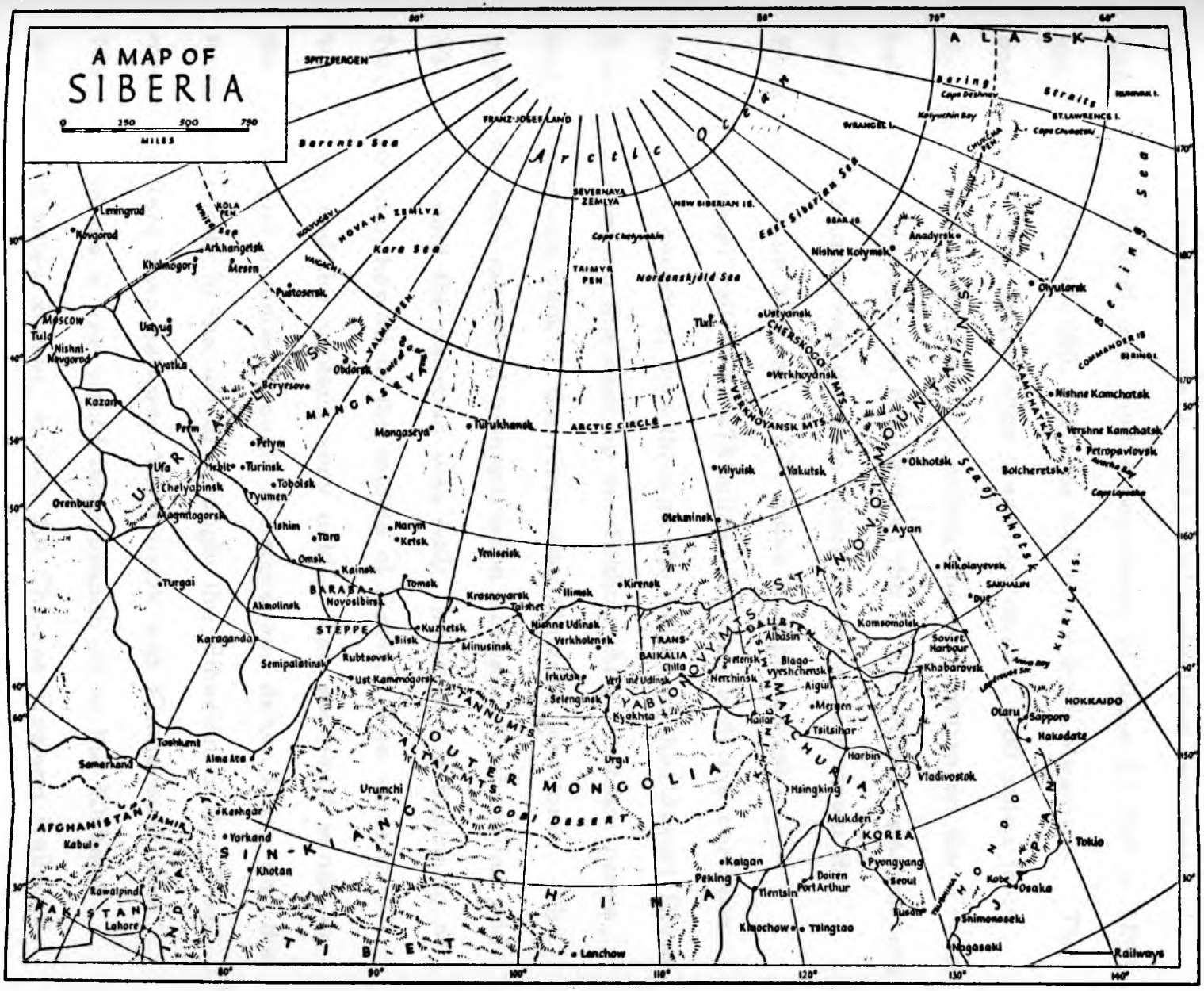
As for the cost, Witte felt that work on the first group would require 126,761,051 rubles. To this he added 8,600,000 for the construction of bridges over the Irtysh, Ob and Enisei rivers and 14 million rubles for the settlement of immigrants in Siberia and the industrial development of the area. The conference then authorized Witte to take 92,734,591 rubles deposited by the Treasury in the State Bank and supplement it with another 57 million rubles either from ordinary or extraordinary revenue or by means of a loan to bring the total up to the amount required.

The conference also adopted Witte's plan for subsidiary works in Siberia and his proposal for a Committee for the Siberian Railroad. The membership of the Committee included the Ministers of Interior, State Domains, Finance, Ways of Communication, and the State Controller. It was also at Witte's suggestion that the future Emperor, Nicholas, become chairman.

The Trans-Siberian proper began at Cheliabinsk, founded in 1658, at the western edge of the fertile West Siberian plain. From there it moved east over the flat plain through Kurgan on the right bank of the Tobol River, to Petropavlovsk on the Ishim River and reached Omsk, at the confluence of the Om and Irtysh rivers, 494 miles from Cheliabinsk. Omsk, founded in 1719,

was one of the most important and largest towns in Siberia. From Omsk the line traversed the Baraba region, 383 miles to Krivoshchenko on the Ob River, the end of the West Siberian plain. The Baraba region was one of green plains covered with reeds and grass, concealing a miry, swampy ground. The population was small, and the water was generally bad, with fever common in the summer.

From the Ob the railroad skirted the northern edge of the Altai and Sayan mountain ranges. At Taiga, 147 miles from Krivoshchenko, a branch ran off to the north 59 miles to Tomsk, the largest city in Siberia. The railroad had not been built to the city for economic reasons. By keeping to as straight a line as possible construction costs could be reduced. From Taiga the line ran east through Mariinsk, Bogotol, and Achinsk to Krasnoiarsk, on the Enisei River, 475 miles from Krivoshchenko. In 1893 Krasnoiarsk had only about 15,000 people, but only four years later the city boasted a population of 26,600. From the Enisei the railroad ran almost due east to Taishet, where it turned to the southeast to Irkutsk. Irkutsk was the most important city in eastern Siberia and was the seat of the governor-general. In 1893 Irkutsk had only about 44,000 people, but by 1897 it had grown to over 51,000. It was 1,142 miles from Krivoshchenko and 2,023 miles from Cheliabinsk. From Irkutsk there was a short branch of 42 miles to the shore of Lake Baikal where one


A MAP OF
SIBERIA
0 250 500 750
MILES
Barents Sea
Kara Sea
East Siberian Sea
Bering Straits
Arctic Ocean
Sea of Okhotsk
Nordenskjöld Sea
SPITZBERGEN
FRANZ-JOSEF LAND
SEVERNAYA ZEMLYA
NOVAYA ZEMLYA
NEW SIBERIAN IS.
WRANGEL I.
ARCTIC CIRCLE
Leningrad
Novgorod
Moscow
Tula
Nishni-Novgorod
Arkhangelsk
Mezen
Khalmogory
Pustozersk
Ustyug
Vyatka
Kazan
Perm
Ufa
Chelyabinsk
Orenburg
Magnitogorsk
Ishim
Tyumen
Tobolsk
Turinsk
Ishit
Berezovo
Obdorsk
Mangasey
Turukhansk
Petlym
Narym
Ketsk
Tara
Omsk
Yeniseisk
Kainsk
Tomsk
Turgai
Akmolinsk
Karaganda
Semipalatinsk
Rubtsovsk
Ust Kammogorsk
Biisk
Kuznetsk
Minusinsk
Krasnoyarsk
Taishet
Ilimsk
Kirensk
Nizhne Udinsk
Verkholensk
Irkutsk
Vsl'ma Udinsk
Selenginsk
Kyakhta
Chita
Nerchinsk
Sretensk
Albasin
Blago-vyershchensk
Aigun
Khabarovsk
Komsomolsk
Soviet Harbour
Nikolayevsk
Due
SAKHALIN
Ayan
Okhotsk
Vilyuisk
Yakutsk
Olekminsk
Verkhoyansk
Ust'yansk
Nishne Kolymsk
Anadyrsk
Olyutorsk
Nishne Kamchatsk
Vershne Kamchatsk
Petropavlovsk
Bolcheretsk
Cape Lopatka
Commander Is
Bering I.
KURILE IS.
HOKKAIDO
Otaru
Sapporo
Hakodate
Tokio
Osaka
Kobe
Shimonoseki
Nagasaki
Railways
Pusan
Seoul
Pyongyang
Fusan
Mukden
Harbin
Tsitsihar
Hailar
Merken
Hsingking
Vladivostok
Kaigan
Peking
Tientsin
Port Arthur
Dairen
Kinchow
Tsingtao
Lanchow
Urga
Urumchi
Kashgar
Yorkand
Khotan
Kabul
Rawalpindi
Lahore
Samarkand
Tashkent
Alma Ata
Verkhoyansk Mts
Cherskoi Mts
Kamchatka Pen
Taimyr Pen
Yalmal Pen
Kola Pen
Kolyuchin Bay
Cape Chelyuskin
Cape Dezhnev
St. Lawrence I.
Wrangel I.
Chukchi Pen.
Mangasey
Barabinsk Steppe
Trans Baikalia
Yablonovyi Mts
Stanovoi Mts
Manchuria
Outer Mongolia
Gobi Desert
Altai Mts
Tannu Mts
Sin-Kiang
Tibet
China
Afghanistan
Pamir
Pakistan
Japan
Korea
ALASKA

caught the ferry to Mysovaia.

The Transbaikal was a wild, thinly populated territory. Chita, the principal city, had a population of about 13,000 in 1893, but in 1897 only 11,480. It was 447 miles from Mysovaia. The next towns of any importance were Nerchinsk, 630 miles from Mysovaia, and Sretensk, 686 miles, the last station on the Transbaikal line. Located on the bank of the Shilka River, passengers and freight transferred there to boats for a voyage down the Shilka and Amur rivers, 1,370 miles to Khabarovsk.

The Ussuri railroad, 475 miles including both the northern and southern sections, ran through the valley of the Ussuri River. It was bounded on the east by the Sikhote Alin mountain range, and the western bank of the river was Chinese territory. The river, the sole means of transportation between Khabarovsk and Vladivostok until the railroad was built, froze at the beginning of November and thawed in the middle of April. The summers were chilly and the winters very cold. The southeast winds in the spring and summer brought moisture and dense fogs, and the northwest winds in the winter brought the Siberian cold. The most important town between Vladivostok and Khabarovsk was Nikol'sk, where a line would later branch off to the Chinese frontier, 72 miles distant, to join the Chinese Eastern Railroad. Nikol'sk was 68 miles from Vladivostok and 407 miles from Khabarovsk.[47]

Work on the Trans-Siberian went so well that in November 1893 an engineer reported to the Committee for the Siberian Railroad that rails as far as Irkutsk could be laid by 1898, two years ahead of schedule.[48] Based on this report the Minister of Ways of Communication proposed improvements for navigation on the Chulym and Angara rivers as a means of moving construction materials for the railroad more rapidly. At the same time the Committee decided to begin surveys on the Irkutsk-Lake Baikal section and begin preparations for surveying the circumbaikal line.[49]

At its seventeenth meeting on May 3/15, 1894 the Committee decided to complete the line all the way to Lake Baikal and the Transbaikal section by 1898 and make preparations so the Amur line could be finished during 1901. Consequently surveys were ordered on the Amur and Transbaikal lines and rails and engines for 66 miles were to be sent to the Transbaikal. The Committee assigned one million rubles for the Amur surveys and 2.5 million for those in the Transbaikal. Furthermore there was a good possibility that the entire Ussuri line could be opened by 1896 since work on the northern part was already underway.[50] At the next meeting on June 12/24, the Minister of Ways of Communication asked for more money for rolling stock. He wanted to change the four wheel cars to six or eight wheel cars, thereby increasing the carrying capacity of each car from 9.5 to

12 tons.[51]

With work progressing so rapidly on the railroad, the final decision on a commercial terminus became more pressing. The debate had begun in 1892 when a special commission chaired by Baron Korf and composed of representatives of the ministries of War, Navy and Ways of Communication had decided that Vladivostok would be the best terminus for a commercial port. Witte had agreed and ordered surveys made of the Bay of the Golden Horn on which Vladivostok was situated. The engineer, B. Ia. Beloborodov conducted the surveys during 1892-93 and concluded that both the naval and commercial ports should be located in the same bay. Baron Korf forwarded the plan to the central government. There it met with objections on the part of the ministries of War and Navy, and when Baron Korf died in 1893, the new Governor-General, General Sergei Mikhailovich Dukhovskoi, opposed the plan. He believed a place should be found for a commercial harbor outside the Golden Horn and suggested Uliss, Patrokol, or Pervoi Rechki bays. Nothing further was done until 1895.[52]

In the spring of 1895, as the Sino-Japanese War was drawing to an end, a final decision had to be made. The Minister of the Navy, Admiral Chikhachev, declared that he had no objection to placing the commercial and naval ports in the Bay of the Golden Horn. The commercial port could be located right at

the entrance since the navy would not need that land in the anticipated future. The Special Conference then directed that another study be made.[53]

The Ministry of Ways of Communication made the detailed technical study, but a special commission was established in Vladivostok to investigate the final location of the commercial port. The Vladivostok commission entrusted the engineer, V. E. Timonov, with the presentation of the case. Briefly his conclusions were that (1) there was no port that could replace Vladivostok; (2) that the Bay of the Golden Horn was ideal because it was sheltered from the elements and was protected by the fortresses of the naval base; (3) that a quay could be built which would increase the capacity of the port and no final decision need be taken yet; and (4) it would be advisable for all departments involved to get together and study the advantages of all the bays and whether or not it might be more advantageous to move the military and naval units out of Vladivostok to Novik, for example, to give the commercial port enough room.[54]

Based on these studies, the Siberian Railroad Committee and the Economic Department of the State Council decided in July 1895 that a quay of 1,540 feet should be built for ships with a draught of 26 feet. Prince Khilkov, Minister of Ways of Communication, estimated this would not cost over 500,000 rubles. If four ships could be tied up, loading and unloading would be

more convenient. The added speed in unloading could cut the cost of the Trans-Siberian by about 600,000 rubles, so the quay would pay for itself.[55]

In March 1896 a commission to decide the final selection of a commercial port found that Vladivostok would be the best. Between 1896 and 1899 over 2,300,000 rubles were spent on the stone quay, railroad sidings, warehouses, and a drydock for the Volunteer Fleet. In February 1899 the Siberian Railroad Committee allocated another 730,000 rubles. The stone quay was completed in 1899 and was completely equipped by 1903. At that time the port of Vladivostok, excluding the CER and Volunteer Fleet docks, could handle about 158,000 tons of cargo.[56]

Opportunities in China

The Sino-Japanese War was seen by many in Russia as a good opportunity for Russia to extend her strength even further into the Far East. On July 13/25 Novoe Vremia, keeping one eye on the Trans-Siberian and the other on the situation in the Far East, declared that the railroad's completion would bring on complications because Russia could not be satisfied with only Vladivostok. That port was frozen during the winter, and that made a port in southern Korea necessary.[57] In the same vein, the paper declared on September 8/20 that the Russian and Korean markets would become one with the opening of the railroad.

It also pointed out that although the Russian fleet in the Far East was increasing, Russia still did not have an ice-free port, but Korea had many, like Port Lazarev (Songjŏng-man), where the Russian fleet could anchor. Consequently Korea must not be allowed to fall under Japanese domination. It should be placed under Russian influence.[58] Another newspaper, Svet, advised Japan to display moderation toward Korea.[59] Rumors also circulated in St. Petersburg that Russia might obtain permission to build the Trans-Siberian railroad across Manchuria in return for her good offices in ending the war. The Times' correspondent noted that this southern route was till marked on official maps and would be much easier to build than the Amur line. However he said that none of the rumors had any signs of official or semi-official character.[60] At the end of January Novoe Vremia observed that the existing Russian frontier was "no frontier at all, but only a line of demarcation which must be maintained until the great Siberian Railway is finished." It even proposed that Japan be given a whole region of China; then Russia would "be able to continue peaceably our railway to Vladivostok and to Port Lazarev."[61]

About the middle of March Novoe Vremia announced that it had discovered the real cause of the Sino-Japanese War: the jealous conspiracy of Western Europe against the pre-eminent advantages certain to accrue to Russia from the construction of

the Trans-Siberian railroad. Another railroad was being proposed that would run through China, India, and Asia Minor and ruin the Trans-Siberian. The European Powers looked on Japan as the best instrument for shaking China out of her lethargy so they could build their railroad. Novoe Vremia declared that the war was only "the prologue of the great international drama in Asia for the possession of a transit route between the oceans washing the old world." The paper then advised the Russian government to run the Trans-Siberian across Manchuria. The route was shorter, quicker, and would act as a counter weight to any Japanese pretensions in the area.[62]

Placing more emphasis on Japan Novoe Vremia noted that "all far-seeing observers recognize that Japan itself is the rock which someday may arrest our progress. . . . In view of this circumstance, the Siberian Railway assumes quite a new significance and importance, and in the light of the altered political situation it must take a different direction. . . ."[63]

The Russian government, while not blind to the opportunities that might open to Russia as a result of the Sino-Japanese War, was, perforce, more cautious than the press. In his note of July 26/August 7 and again at the Special Committee meeting on August 9/21, 1894, Nikolai Karlovich Girs, the Foreign Minister (1882-95), took a reserved attitude. Russia might demand that Japanese troops not approach the Russian frontier, but she

suggesting Russia might occupy Kargodo (Koje Island), off the southern coast of Korea, if Japanese peace conditions infringed on Russian interests. Vannovskii thought such a measure might be effective, but did not foresee it. When Grand Duke Aleksei proposed that in case of emergency it would be best to occupy Kargodo rather than some other part of Korea, Admiral Chikhachev, Minister of the Navy, agreed, but he preferred to occupy part of Manchuria so that a Japanese seizure of Port Arthur or Weihaiwei might be counter balanced. Vannovskii objected that a seizure of part of Manchuria before the Trans-Siberian was completed might pose certain difficulties.

On the other hand Nikolai Nikolaevich Obruchev, Chief of the General Staff (1881-95), Nikolai Pavlovich Shishkin, Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs (1892-97), and Witte, Minister of Finance, advocated a policy of non-interference. Count Dmitrii Alekseevich Kapnist, Director of the Asiatic Department (1891-97) went a little further and suggested an agreement with Great Britain as a means of preventing an unfavorable conclusion of the war. This would also give Russia the time necessary to complete the Trans-Siberian. The Committee resolved (1) to increase the fleet until it was stronger than Japan's; (2) to try to reach an agreement with Great Britain and also with France to put pressure on Japan should her terms to China touch on Russian interests; and (3) should attempts to reach an agreement

with Great Britain fail, to hold another meeting to decide Russia's future policy.[66]

The Russian Ministry of Foreign Affairs tended to lean toward non-involvement in the war, and talk of an alliance with Japan was common. In early March, on the same day the German Minister warned the Japanese government that "the Japanese demand for the cession of territory on the mainland will be the means of provoking intervention," the Russian Minister in Japan (1892-96), Mikhail Aleksandrovich Khitrovo (usually Hitrovo), sent a 30-page private and very secret letter to Shishkin outlining his thoughts on a Russo-Japanese rapprochement. This gist of his idea was that Russia should turn Japan into her ally in order to gain time to finish the Trans-Siberian railroad.[67] According to Narochnitskii Kapnist, in the words of Lamzdorf, "never stopped preaching an agreement with victorious Japan," and Lamzdorf himself did not believe Russia should resort to extreme measures toward Japan since Germany and France did not agree to military activities. These men were confident that China would continue her policy of hostility toward Russia in the coming decade; that Japan would seek a rapprochement with Russia; and that Russia was completely unprepared for war with Japan in the Far East.[68]

The new Foreign Minister (Girs had died in January), Prince Aleksei Borisovich Lobanov-Rostovskii, accepted the

prevailing orientation in the Foreign Ministry and assured the Japanese Minister on March 20 that Russia "would not make any serious objection" if the Japanese "claim of territory is limited to Formosa and the Liaotung Peninsula."[69] However during the course of the following two and one half weeks he changed his mind. In a note to Nicholas on March 25/April 6 he pointed out that Japanese occupation of the Liaotung would not only be a permanent menace to Peking, but it would also threaten the independence of Korea, and touch on Russian interests. Yet he was forced to admit that Russia was too weak to do anything but protest.[70]

This was perhaps by way of introduction to his second note in which he suggested that if Russia wanted to pursue a more active policy in the Far East with such aims as obtaining an ice-free port and a part of Manchuria as a more convenient route for the Trans-Siberian, an alliance with Japan would be the best policy. Nicholas agreed with the proposal, particularly with the section concerning an ice-free port.[71]

The Japanese demands occasioned another meeting of the Special Committee on March 30/April 11. The conclusions pushed through by Witte were diametrically opposed to the desire expressed by Nicholas on Murav'ev's note of five days earlier. Only Grand Duke Aleksei Aleksandrovich and General N. N. Obruchev, Chief of the General Staff, spoke up for the policy

both Nicholas and the Foreign Minister favored. The ministers of War, Navy and Finance all wanted Japan off the continent.

Grand Duke Aleksei felt good relations with Japan must be maintained because she was Great Britain's natural rival in the Far East and that prior to the completion of the Trans-Siberian railroad it would be very difficult to occupy Port Lazarev and a part of Manchuria for the railroad without Japanese agreement. He also suggested that Shestakov Bay (Ch'ŏngjin-man) should be Russia's objective rather than Port Lazarev. To this argument Obruchev added that it would be a calamity for Russia to fight a war so far from her center. The Japanese were already on the scene with a highly civilized country and a population of 40 million; whereas Russia would have to send all her men and supplies over thousands of miles. Russian troops nearest the scene could arrive only after three months, and those from Omsk and Irkutsk after five months. Obruchev believed Russia could get everything she needed by agreement with Japan. He did not consider China, weakened by territorial concessions and a large indemnity, a threat to Russia.

Opposed to these two stood Witte. He thought the war between China and Japan was a result of the Trans-Siberian railroad. The European powers and Japan saw that a partition of China was a foregone conclusion and that the railroad would give Russia an enormous advantage. Moreover Japanese

annexation of the Liaotung peninsula would endanger Korea, and it would only be a matter of time until Japan had that country too. With the indemnity to strengthen her, it might be possible for Japan to attract the Mongols and Manchus to her side and begin a new war; this time against Russia. Russia had to defend her possessions and the railroad. How could she allow Japan on the continent and permit her to construct a base which would only be used against Russia? Witte did not believe the Japanese army was so strong. It had only 70,000 men scattered through Manchuria, Korea and the south, and Russia could handle this number with the troops then at her disposal. She might even expect some help from the Koreans and Chinese who hated the Japanese. He opposed any seizures of Chinese territory because that might bring on the partition of China which would only increase the chance of a war.

Vannovskii added that it would be better to let Japan have south Korea than let her into Manchuria since the latter would put her too close to the Russian frontier. To this Admiral Chikhachev remarked that even the Foreign Minister had said it was difficult to rely on Japan's friendship and that the Russian Pacific squadron was clearly superior to the Japanese since it had not been fighting and was rested. Thus the Committee resolved to force Japan off the continent.[72]

Not until April 4/16 was the conflict between the views of

Nicholas, Lobanov, and the Grand Duke, and those of Witte and the other ministers resolved. On that day a meeting was held with only the Emperor, Witte, Vannovskii, Lobanov, and the Grand Duke present. Here Nicholas swung to the side of his Minister of Finance, and Japan was to be excluded from the continent.[73]

The "friendly advice" to renounce the occupation of the Liao-tung was tendered to Japan on April 23 by Russia, France and Germany. After determining it had little choice, the Japanese government agreed on May 5.

The early arguments of a Chinese threat, whatever their actual merit, had served to push through the decision to build the Trans-Siberian, and Witte, with the surplus accumulated by his predecessor, acted vigorously. Then the Sino-Japanese War had come along and presented Russia with a whole new set of opportunities. The press had been quick to take up the cry, calling for both an ice-free port in Korea and a slice of Manchu-ria for the railroad. The government had been more cautious, but in the end had come around to the same thinking. However Witte had forced a new approach. There would be no agreement with Japan to obtain the advantages for Russia. Rather he would seek them in his own way, but he and the railroad had made an enemy in Japan.

FOOTNOTES

[1]For some of these early plans see Vladimir [Zenone Volpicelli], Russia on the Pacific and the Siberian Railway (London, 1899); Russia, Ministerstvo putei soobshchenia. Guide to the Great Siberian Railway, edited by A. I. Dmitriev-Mamonov and A. F. Zdziarski (St. Petersburg, 1900); S. V. Sabler and I. V. Sosnovskii, Sibirskaia zheleznaia doroga v eia proshlom i nastoiashchem (St. Petersburg, 1903).

[2]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 68-69.

[3]Ibid., p. 39.

[4]N. A. Voloshinov, "Sibirskaia zheleznaia doroga," Izvestiia Imperatorskago russkago geograficheskago obshchestvo, XXVII (1891), 17-18 (Hereafter IIGO).

[5]Ibid., pp. 19, 21.

[6]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 70-71.

[7]P. F. Unterberger, Primorskaia oblast 1856-1898 gg. Ocherk (St. Petersburg, 1900), pp. 233-236.

[8]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 71-72.

[9]A. L. Narochnitskii, Kolonial'naia politika kapitalisticheskikh derzhav na Dal'nem Vostoke, 1860-1895 (Moscow, 1956), p. 556.

[10]Russia, Ministry of Finance, Department of Trade and Manufactures, The Industries of Russia (St. Petersburg, 1893), pp. 31, 42, 59, 64, 69; Russia, Pereselencheskoe upravlenie, Aziatskaia Rossiia (St. Petersburg, 1914), I, 88-90; United States, Treasury Department, Bureau of Statistics, Monthly Summary of Commerce and Finance, "Commercial Russia," (April, 1899), pp. 2514-2516 (Hereafter Monthly Summary). Russian estimates placed the population of Manchuria as 13 million (Narochnitskii, pp. 513-514), 10 million (Voloshinov, 15) and 5.7 million (P. S. Popov, "Dvizhenie naseleniia v Kitae," IIGO, XXXII (1896), 227. This would be 34 or 26 or 15 people per sq. mile.

[11]Sabler and Sosnovskii, p. 420. Paradoxically the Trans-Siberian hurt the Siberian economy in some respects. Since it cheapened European goods, the old high-cost Siberian factories

and manufacturing concerns could no longer compete and so went bankrupt. For example the Nikolaevskii and Luchinskii factories in Irkutsk closed in 1899 and production was curtailed at the Petrovsko-Zabaikal'skii metallurgical factory. Similar action was taken in waxworks, soapworks, ropeworks, some distilleries and other small enterprises. See I. A. Asalkhanov, Sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie iugo-vostochnoi Sibiri vo vtoroi polovine XIX v (Ulan Ude, 1963), pp. 326-333, 447-462. V. F. Borzunov, "K voprosu ob ekonomicheskom znachenii sibirskoi zheleznoi dorogi v kontse XIX-nachale XX vv.," in Voprosy istorii Sibiri i Dal'nego Vostoka (Novosibirsk, 1961), pp. 100-106; also his "Vliianie transsibirskoi magistrali na razvitie sel'skomu khoziaistva Sibiri i Dal'nego Vostoka v nachale XX v. (1900-1914)," in Osobennosti agrarnogo stroia Rossii v period imperializma (Moscow, 1962), pp. 161-163. A. A. Mukhin, "Vliianie sibirskoi zheleznoi dorogi na sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe razvitie vostochnoi Sibiri (1897-1917 gg.)," in Voprosy istorii Sibiri i Dal'nego Vostoka (Novosibirsk, 1961), pp. 114-118. A. P. Okladnikov and V. I. Shunov, ed., Istoriia Sibiri (Leningrad, 1968), III, 180-211.

[12]Russia, Kantseliariia komiteta ministrov, Komitet sibirskoi zheleznoi dorogi, Kolonizatsiia Sibiri v sviazi s obshchim pereselencheskim voprosom (St. Petersburg, 1900), p. 321.

[13]Ibid., p. 297.

[14]Until 1884 the administration of the Far East was subject to the Governor-General of Siberia in Irkutsk. However because the Primorsk was so far from Irkutsk and communication was so slow, the East Siberian governor-generalship was divided into two parts. The Governor-General of Irkutsk remained in Irkutsk, and the new Governor-General of the Priamur was established in Khabarovka (it became Khabarovsk in 1893). The new governor-generalship included the Transbaikal, Amur and Primorsk oblasts and Sakhalin island. Unterberger, pp. 265, 298, 300.

[15]United States, Treasury Department, Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Countries, 1900-1901 (Washington, 1901), I, 983.

[16]Lt. Col. Ragoza, "Pos'etskii uchastok," Sbornik geograficheskikh, topograficheskikh i statisticheskikh materialov po Azii, XLV (1891), 121 (Hereafter Sbornik po Azii).

[17]Lt. Col. Nadarov, "Severno-Ussuriiskii krai," Sbornik po Azii, XXVII (1887), 55, 99-100, 103, 136.

[18]Kolonizatsiia Sibiri, p. 330.

[19]Capt. Grulev, "Materialy po voenno-statisticheskomu obozreniiu Zabaikal'ia. Chast I," Sbornik po Azii, LI (1892), 29.

[20]V. L. Komarov, "Usloviia dal'neshe kolonizatsii Amura," IIGO, XXXII (1896), 482-484.

[21]Capt. Grulev, "Izvlechenie iz otcheta gener. shtaba sht-kap. Grulev o rekognostsirovke magistral'nago sibirskago puti v predelakh zabaikal'skoi oblasti," Sbornik po Azii, L (1892), 130-148.

[22]Narochnitskii, p. 529.

[23]Col. Barabash, "Zapiski o Man'chzhurii general'nago shtaba polkovnika Barabasha," Sbornik po Azii, I (1883), 164-167.

[24]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 76-77.

[25]Ibid., pp. 77-78. [26]Ibid., p. 78.

[27]Ibid., pp. 79-80.

[28]A. Popov, "Pervye shagi russkogo imperializma na Dal'nem Vostoke (1888-1903)," Krasnyi arkhiv, LII (1932), 54-61. For an English translation see "First Steps of Russian Imperialism in the Far East (1888-1903)," Chinese Social and Political Science Review, XVIII (1934), 236-244. (Hereafter "Pervye shagi," "First steps," and CSPSR, respectively.)

[29]V. N. Lamzdorf, Dnevnik V.N. Lamzdorfa (1886-1890) (Moscow, 1926), pp. 181-182.

[30]The Times, March 20, 1890.

[31]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 83-86.

[32]The Chinese Times, July 6, 1889.

[33]Ibid., August 9, 1890.

[34]H. B. Morse, International Relations of the Chinese Empire (London, 1918), III, 79-80. W. L. Langer, The Diplomacy of Imperialism (New York, 1951), I, 171. Col. K. I. Vogak in a report of 1893 concluded that it did not look like the Manchurian line was destined to become a main one. Although Li Hung-chang had used it to move troops to put down a disturbance, that

did not mean it would be continued. Even so important a line as that between Peking and Hankow had been abandoned. "Man'chzhurskaia zheleznaia doroga. Uchastok Tian-tszin (Tien-tsin)-Luan-chzhou (Lanchow)," Sbornik po Azii, LIII (1893), 18-19. For a more recent study see Arthur L. Rosenbaum, "Chinese Railway Policy and the Response to Imperialism: the Peking-Mukden Railway, 1895-1911," Ch'ing-shih wen-t'i, II, 1 (Oct., 1969), 38-70.

[35]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 83-86.

[36]Narochnitskii, p. 526. There is another letter attributed to Girs dated May 7/19, 1890. In it Girs notes complaints from the Minister of War about the difficulty of defending the Amur in case of a war with China. Not only were the Amur and Ussuri districts far from the center of Russian power, they were completely cut off even from Irkutsk for five months of the year. Moreover there were unwelcome signs that China was becoming active in Manchuria. Migrants were being encouraged; the army was being reformed; and China even had plans to lay a railroad northward. To Girs the economic advantages of a Russian railroad were clear. It would make it easy to transport new mining technology to increase the gold output. Fertile new areas along the railroad and rivers could be opened up. Colonists could be transported by rail, and small expensive imports from China and Japan which now went by sea would reach Europe much faster over the Russian railroad. Girs felt that studies of the Canadian Pacific and the American Trans-continental showed that the day would not be too distant when the Trans-Siberian would pay for itself. His estimates for expenditure and revenue indicated a subsidy would be necessary for the first few years. While the source of this letter is unknown, the sentiment expressed seems real enough. Hiratsuka Atsushi, ed., Itō Hirobumi hisho ruisan. Gaikō hen (Tokyo, 1936), III, 553-555 (Hereafter HSRS:G).

[37]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 86-87.

[38]The Chinese Times, Feb. 23, 1889.

[39]The Times, June 5, 1889.

[40]M. K. Lemke, Nikolai Mikhailovich Iadrintsev. Biograficheskii ocherk k desiatilietiiu so dnia konchiny (1894 7/VI 1904) (St. Petersburg, 1904), pp. 138-140. S. G. Svatikov, Rossiia i Sibir (Praga, 1930), pp. 81-90. For a discussion of Siberian regionalism see the unpubl. diss. (University of Washington, 1970) by Stephen D. Watrous, "Russia's Land of the Future:

Regionalism and the Awakening of Siberia, 1819-1894."

[41]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 91-92. Dmitriev-Mamonov, Guide, p. 62.

[42]Ibid., p. 107. In July 1891 the Japanese Commercial Agent in Vladivostok, Futatsubashi Ken, submitted a long report on the Trans-Siberian railroad. It lists 14 economic and strategic advantages and 10 military advantages to be derived from construction. Included were estimates for an all-water route, a combination of rail and water and an all-rail line. Hiratsuka, HSRS:G, III, 538-547. The original is in Japan. Foreign Ministry Archives, MT 1.7.3.5, "Shiberia tetsudō kankei zassan, July 1890-Dec. 1907," microfilm reel no. 604, pp. 33-69 (Hereafter "Shiberia tetsudō").

[43]Serge Witte, Memoirs of Count Witte, trans. Abraham Yarmolinsky (New York, 1921), pp. 3-36. B. B. Glinskii, Prolog' russko-iaponskoi voiny (Petrograd, 1916), p. 9.

[44]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 111-123. B. A. Romanov, Russia in Manchuria (1892-1906), trans. Susan W. Jones (Ann Arbor, 1952), pp. 42-45. Glinskii, pp. 10-17. Russia, Laws, Statutes, etc., Polonoe sobranie zakonov. Sobranie tret'e (St. Petersburg, 1895), XII, 678-681.

[45]As Witte must have known official Canadian statistics showed that the Canadian Pacific carried an average of 42% of the tea and 16% of the silk from Japan and China during the years 1887-92. Another aspect of the same railroad that undoubtedly caught his attention was the fact that it had shown a profit of over $2 million the year it opened and in 1891 had a net profit of over $8 million. Harold A. Innis, A History of the Canadian Pacific Railway (Toronto, 1923), pp. 193, 247.

[46]In 1889 Russian overland trade with China was only half of what it had been in 1869. This was due chiefly to the shipment of tea via Suez to Odessa. From a report of the British Embassy in St. Petersburg in The Times, Oct. 7, 1890.

[47]For a description of Siberia see Dmitriev-Mamonov, Guide.

[48]Sabler and Sosnovskii, p. 150.

[49]Kampō, April 20, May 1, 1894. United States, Department of State, Bureau of Statistics, Consular Reports, XLV, No. 166 (July, 1894), 425-434 (Hereafter Consular Reports).

[50]Kampō, July 31, 1894. Consular Reports, XLV, No. 167 (Aug. 1894), 624-625.

[51]Kampō, Aug. 16, 1894.

[52]A. I. Krushanov, ed., Vladivostok (Sbornik istoricheskikh dokumentov 1860-1907 gg.) (Vladivostok, 1960), pp. 38-39. Also his "O razvitii torgovogo moreplavaniia na russkom Dal'nem Vostoke v poslednei chetverti XIX-nachale XX v.," in Materialy po istorii Vladivostoka (Vladivostok, 1960), p. 48. Asahi, Oct. 10, 1894; Sept. 15, 1895.

[53]Krushanov, Vladivostok, p. 39.

[54]Krushanov, "O razvitii," p. 48. V. E. Timonov, "O glavneishikh vodnykh putiakh priamurskago kraia v sviazi s voprosom ob izbranii mesta tikhookeanskago kommercheskago porta sibirskoi zheleznoi dorogi," IIGO, XXXIV (1898), 358-360.

[55]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 256-257. Asahi, Sept. 15, 1895.

[56]Krushanov, "O razvitii," pp. 48-49. Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 257-258.

[57]Asahi, Sept. 8, 1894.

[58]Japan, Foreign Ministry, Nihon gaikō bunsho, XXVII, No. 789, Nishi to Mutsu, Sept. 30, 1894 (Hereafter NGB).

[59]The Times, Oct. 3, 1894. [60]Ibid., Oct. 17, 1894.

[61]United States, Department of State, Dispatches from United States Ministers to Russia. Breckinridge to Uhl, Feb. 18, 1895 (Hereafter USDS. Russia).

[62]The Times, March 16, 1895. The other railroad may have been the Asian route proposed by Taguchi Ukichi in a speech to the Economic Association in December 1894. His speech and a map were published in the Tokyo keizai zasshi, No. 759 (Jan. 2, 1895), and No. 760 (Jan. 19, 1895). See Teiken Taguchi Ukichi zenshū (Tokyo, 1928), IV, 466-473.

[63]The Times, March 22, 1895.

[64]Narochnitskii, pp. 609-610. "First steps," 245-251.

[65]The Times, Oct. 17, 1894.

[66]"First steps," 251-260. [67]Narochnitskii, pp. 678-681.

[68]Ibid., pp. 694-695.

[69]NGB, XXVIII/I, No. 585, Nishi to Mutsu, March 20, 1895.

[70]"First steps," 260-261. [71]Ibid., pp. 261-263.

[72]Ibid., 265-272. Witte was not the only one who believed that the Trans-Siberian had been the cause of the war. Sir Ernest Satow, the British Minister to Japan, mentioned to Itō that "somewhat indiscreet observations had been made by responsible Japanese officials that the object of the war had been to forestall the completion of the Siberian railroad," but Itō denied it. Still, by 1898 Satow had become convinced that is just what had happened. See George A. Lensen, Korea and Manchuria between Russia and Japan: the Observations of Sir Ernest Satow (Tallahassee, 1966), p. 45, and Great Britain, Foreign Office, British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914, ed. by G. P. Gooch and Harold Temperley (London, 1926), I, 26, Satow to Salisbury, March 26, 1898.

[73]S. Iu. Vitte, Vospominaniia (Moscow, 1960), II, 47. Romanov, pp. 56-57.

CHAPTER II. THE JAPANESE RESPONSE

Japanese foreign policy in the Far East between 1885 and 1890--like that of Russia was, on the whole, rather passive. The major problems confronting the government were treaty revision and the opening of the Diet.[1] Still, the Trans-Siberian railroad did occasion some interest. Almost immediately two factions became evident. Some saw the railroad as a future threat to Japan and the Far East and to counter this they began calling for military preparedness. Another group saw the railroad as an opportunity to expand Japanese exports and make Japan a central point on a world trade route. At the same time these men hoped that a better understanding with and of Russia could be reached as the two became better acquainted through trade. It was principally this latter group that was responsible for the language schools, the promotion of Japanese railroads, the opening of more ports and other measures to take advantage of the commerce that was sure to follow after the railroad had been completed.

Early Views of the Railroad

Among those men who led the nation, Yamagata Aritomo, in his memorial of January 1888 noted the importance of the Trans-Siberian. He saw that it would mean Russia could move troops faster, and this presaged increased tension between Great Britain

and Russia, since Russia had her eye on India and Korea. Certainly the railroad would make Vladivostok an important transportation center and naval base, but because it was frozen during the winter Russia would have to look elsewhere for an ice-free port. Where? Korea. When the railroad was finished Russia would begin to move on Korea and that would cause trouble in the Far East.

Yamagata felt that Japan had two options: either to side with one or the other of the belligerents or remain neutral. In either case Japan would have to see to her own defenses. As it stood she was unprepared. It had been planned to bring the six division Army up to strength by 1888, however because during the period of forced deflation (1881-86) several thousand yen had been cut from the budget, many units remained under-strength. When Yamagata had been in charge of fortress artillery, he had completed one gun emplacement, but there were still no soldiers to man it. Whatever the sacrifices to be made, Yamagata believed the needs of the Army and Navy would have to be met because military strength was the indispensable foundation for a firm foreign policy, and such a policy was necessary because the time was near when Japan would have to deal with Great Britain and Russia.[2]

Yamagata was not the only one who saw that the Trans-Siberian would mean important changes. In a letter to

Itō Hirobumi who was then touring the Far East, Mutsu Munemitsu, Japanese Minister to the United States and later Foreign Minister, wrote that he thought Itō's trip to Vladivostok and Korea was a good idea since it was connected with Japan's interest in the area. Mutsu felt that the day of change in the Far East was not far distant in view of Russia's hurrying the construction of the Trans-Siberian railroad.[3]

Two years later, in March 1890, Prime Minister Yamagata set out in greater detail Japan's interests in East Asia. Korea was the principal source of his concern. For the first time Yamagata used the concept of a line of advantage and a line of sovereignty. The line of sovereignty, of course, referred to Japan's frontiers. However since a country's interests extended further than its boundaries, the line of advantage included neighboring countries who could threaten one's frontier or where a threat to one's frontier could arise.

Japan's line of advantage included Korea. Yamagata noted that the Trans-Siberian railroad was already advancing through Central Asia, and in a few years it would be finished. Then a few days after leaving St. Petersburg a man could be watering his horse on the Amur. He believed no one should forget that the day of the completion of the Trans-Siberian would be an important day for Korea. Nor should he forget that such an important day for Korea would also be a day of great change in

the Far East. The question of how to guarantee Korea's independence under these circumstances was one that concerned Japan intimately.

Yamagata proposed to defend Japan's line of advantage, Korea, by diplomacy, i.e., a joint guarantee with Great Britain and Germany, and by military preparedness. To achieve the latter Yamagata called for a gradual increase in the first and second reserves to 200,000 men. The Prime Minister knew that to protect Japan's independence the line of sovereignty had to be defended, but the line of advantage also must be protected. Neither could be done by empty chatter. It would take 20 years of hard, plodding work.[4]

The following month Prince Takehito returned from his trip to Europe and he added his voice to those calling for military preparedness. He proposed a larger navy as a consequence of both naval development in Europe and the threat of an expanding Chinese navy. At present rates of construction China's navy would soon be superior to Japan's. However he also looked to the north, to Russia. There he saw a country just looking for an opportunity to move to the East. The Prince felt that Russia had no intention of being satisfied with Vladivostok. She would move south to an ice-free port and with the expansion of her fleet in the Far East she might be able to control the area.[5]

While Yamagata and Prince Takehito looked at the Far East

primarily from a military point of view, Aoki Shūzō, the Foreign Minister, saw it from the vantage point of a diplomat. Aoki had been educated in Germany, had married a German and had a very European oriented view. Toward Russia he was somewhat bellicose. As early as 1883 in a letter to Inoue Kaoru he had said that Russia was not so formidable an enemy. The people were stupid and ignorant. Even the priests didn't understand the teachings of the Orthodox Church. Aoki believed that Russia was planning on an ice-free port in the Far East, and that Korea must be her objective. If Russia turned her strength to the East, not only Korea and China, but also Japan would be threatened. So Japan should prepare. He favored driving the Russians from East Asia, preferring an "Asia for the Asians." Since he knew it would be difficult for Japan to accomplish this alone, he thought an alliance with China was necessary.[6]

Aoki made many of these same points in his opinion, "The East Asian Balance of Power" of May 15, 1890. He saw the Western nations moving into the Far East and felt the Far Eastern nations, China, Japan and Korea, had to defend themselves. Since Japan was the most advanced, it was her duty to take the lead. She had to expand her defenses and increase her armed forces. The most powerful European country was Russia, and the weakest Asian nation was Korea, so that was where the clash would come.

As proof of this Aoki pointed to Russia's decision to lay a Trans-Siberian railroad. It would reach Vladivostok and parallel the Chinese border. When it was completed Russia would be able to send large numbers of troops to the undefended Chinese border and even threaten Japan. To counter this Aoki proposed a three part solution: (1) a Sino-Japanese alliance to drive Russia from Eastern Siberia. He did not think the European powers would object to this; (2) an alliance with Great Britain and perhaps Germany. When trouble arose in Europe, China and Japan would sign an alliance with the European powers thereby enabling them to attack Russia who, fearing a two-front war, would not be able to bring all her strength to bear on either frontier; (3) a change in the borders of China and Japan. By this change Japan would get Korea and all territory east of the 124th degree of longitude, i.e., beginning at the Chinese-Korean border, across Manchuria, along the left bank of the Lena River to the Arctic. This would mean Japan would acquire a goodly portion of Manchuria. Mukden would be left to China; Tsitsihar would be just about on the line, but Harbin, Ch'ang-ch'un, Kirin and the Sungari basin would all belong to Japan.[7]

Aoki's opinion seems to have had little influence, and in his speech to the opening session of the Diet in December 1890, Yamagata repeated publicly the same thing he had called for in his memorial of the preceding March. He noted that the Bakufu

had given Japan 300 years of peace, but that this policy had also delayed the country's development, and Japan had been trying to redeem this debt to the past ever since the Restoration. Yamagata then went on to consider military and naval expenditures since he regarded them as the most important element in guaranteeing the country's independence.[8]

Military Preparedness

The government and the Diet immediately clashed on the budget. The Lower House, determined to reduce expenditures and attack the government, slashed it 11%. However a compromise was effected and some of the money restored, but still ¥7 million had been cut from the government's budget. This had the effect of lowering defense expenditures. Yamagata resigned in May 1891.

While the primary center of opposition to the government's budget was located in the Lower House, a group of men in the Upper House was also concerned with the problem of defense and the Trans-Siberian. These men included Army men and former government officials such as Tani Kanjō, Soga Sukenori, and Lt. General Ozawa Takeo. Tani Kanjō was one of the most important objectors to Yamagata's, and later Matsukata Masayoshi's, budget proposals for the Army and Navy. Tani was the general who had held Kumamoto castle for the

government against Saigo Takamori's troops in the rebellion of 1877. He resigned from the army in protest against Yamagata's military reforms and entered the House of Peers. Later he was Home Minister in Itō Hirobumi's first cabinet from December 1885 to March 1886 when he resigned in protest over treaty revision negotiations.

Tani differed with Yamagata not so much in kind as in degree. He felt Japan should not try to become the Oriental "England" with a large navy and no coastal defenses. Great Britain maintained a large navy in order to defend her colonies. Without them her navy would be smaller and her army larger to keep France and Germany at bay. Japan's position was just the opposite of Great Britain's. Tani did not object to the balance of expenditures between the army and navy, roughly 2:1, but he wanted naval money spent on training men and building coastal batteries, not on ships. Ships could be built with money and in a short period of time, but the training of good officers took many years. Therefore he preferred gun emplacements at the most strategic locations to defend the islands. They were cheaper, would last longer without becoming obsolete, and were more difficult to capture. Ships could be used to supplement these batteries and protect areas where gun emplacements couldn't be built.[9]

Lt. General Baron Ozawa Takeo spoke in the House of

Peers on December 14, 1891 on the state of Japan's defenses. He went right down the list naming the deficiencies: army divisions that would not be brought up to full strength until 1896; only part of the coastal defense shore batteries completed; guard units on only Tsushima of all the outer islands; insufficient arms, ammunition, officers and non-commissioned officers to mount an expedition; and an unprepared reserve.

Of all these weaknesses Ozawa felt the lack of coastal defenses was the most serious. At that time shore batteries were being constructed only in Tokyo Bay, the Ki-Tan straits (between Wakayama and Awaji Island, to protect Osaka and Kobe) and the Shimonoseki straits. To complete them would cost about ¥60 million, and he urged the money be provided because he foresaw a Russian threat. The Trans-Siberian railroad would be completed in seven to eight years.[10] Two days later the Army Minister asked Ozawa to resign, ostensibly for revealing military secrets.

While the government and the Diet debated defense expenditures Kawakami Soroku, Vice-Chief of the General Staff, made a three-month inspection tour of Korea and China and sent another party into Siberia to check on Russian military strength.[11] Kawakami used a whole series of junior officers to provide intelligence on European as well as Asian and South Pacific countries and islands. Perhaps one of the better known trips

was made by Major Fukushima Yasumasa. He rode horseback from Berlin to Vladivostok between February 1892 and June 1893. His report provided a description of the people and customs of Russia, Siberia, Mongolia and Manchuria. Tokutomi Iichirō thinks this report provided the basis for Yamagata's memorial of October 1893.[12]

In his October memorial Yamagata pointed out the aggressive nature of Russia's foreign policy. Having been blocked in the Balkans, Russia had turned to the East. She was pushing her railroad quickly and with it would come danger. Mongolia was not heavily populated and the Chinese were not ready to defend it. Consequently Russia could easily subdue the area north of the Gobi. Yamagata believed that Russia would then cast eyes at Peking and Manchuria. She had not done so already for only one reason: the lack of transport facilities. Given this, within ten years when the Trans-Siberian railroad was completed the world could expect Russian aggression in Mongolia and perhaps even in China proper.

The lesson to Japan was clear. Over the next eight to nine years she must see to her military strength. She certainly did not want to suffer any damage herself, and she had to be ready to advance her own interests. To do this Japan must have a good navy. The annual expenditures on the army stood at about ¥12 million and the navy about ¥5 million. Yamagata advocated

an extraordinary expenditure of ¥8 million more in 1894, the navy getting ¥5 million of that. This would bring the total expenditure up to about ¥25 million and would put Japan somewhere between Great Britain and France in total defense expenditures.[13]

Certainly naval planners would have to be concerned with the Trans-Siberian railroad since its completion would mean Russia could dispose a much stronger and well-supplied fleet on the Sea of Japan. Consequently in the mid-1880's there was a call for the establishment of five naval yards in Japan: at Yokosuka, Kure, Sasebo, Maizuru and Muroran. The latter two were to be a defense against Russia. Muroran, on the southern coast of Hokkaido, would protect that island, and Maizuru, on Wakasa Bay almost directly north of Osaka on the Sea of Japan, would protect the Western coast. Without them Japan would have no naval base near the Sea of Japan, and that would make it easy for the Russian squadron based at Vladivostok to land troops in Wakasa Bay and cut Honshū in two, or cut the Tsugaru Straits and Japanese communication with Hokkaidō, in which case the lightly defended island would fall easily.[14] As it turned out, in May 1889 Yokosuka, Kure, Sasebo and Maizuru were named naval yards and a fifth was to be designated later. However the base at Maizuru did not open until October 1901, and the one in Muroran never opened.[15]

The government presented the first plan for ship construction

to the Second Diet in 1891. It called for construction of one cruiser and one dispatch boat with an estimated expenditure of ¥2,750,000. Both the Second and Third Diets rejected this plan. In October 1892 the Naval Minister submitted to the cabinet a much broader plan. In line with the cabinet decision of 1890 calling for a minimum naval strength of 120,000 tons, Nirei Kagenori proposed building 19 ships totaling 87,800 tons. However due to financial conditions the cabinet decided to ask for only two steel battleships, one third-class cruiser and one dispatch boat. Yet the Diet once again rejected the government's proposal. This time, however, the Emperor issued a proclamation saying he was donating ¥300,000 yearly and all the civilian and military officials were going to donate 10% of their salary for construction. The Diet reconsidered, but enforced a small cut. The plan was revised in 1898 and the total cost was ¥23,834,955. During the debate the Navy Minister never talked about defense or theoretical enemies and Ōoka Ikuzō, while noting that when the Trans-Siberian railroad was finished Russia would stand in a very convenient position near Japan, chided other Diet members for expecting the Navy Minister to mention who potential enemies might be.[16]

Treaty Revision

The change in relationships implied in the construction of the

Trans-Siberian was felt even in the matter of treaty revision. In general, treaty revision was a Japanese internal matter and did not concern the powers' strategic desires. However in his memorandum of October 1891 Enomoto Takeaki, the Foreign Minister succeeding Aoki Shūzō, noted that Aoki's plan for treaty revision presented to the British in March of that year, had been accepted unexpectedly. It called for near equality, and the British had agreed to all but one or two provisions. Enomoto gave credit to Aoki and also to the work of Ōkuma Shigenobu and Inoue Kaoru, two earlier foreign ministers, but asked if it was not due also in part to Great Britain's position in the Far East. The Russian Trans-Siberian railroad would become a powerful weapon against British special rights in the Far East. Henry W. Denison, the American Legal Advisor to the Japanese Foreign Ministry, held the same opinion: "Until five years ago the British government refused even to negotiate. The sudden desire today to accept the conditions lies ultimately with the impetus of the Siberian railroad. However, if the effect of the Siberian railroad on strategy and Oriental trade does not materialize to the expected degree within five years, the terms we are trying to get them to accept now, if presented then, might be refused."[17] Nothing came of Aoki's proposal, and a revised treaty was not signed with Great Britain until July 1894.

Even in 1894 when Aoki, as Japanese Minister to Great

Britain and Germany, was in London negotiating for treaty revision, he pointed out the influence of the Trans-Siberian railroad. In his letter of May 31, Aoki told of the British desire to make Hakodate and, if possible, Nemuro open ports. He found the reason for this request in the fact that the Russian railroad would cause a great change in world transportation and trade patterns. The British wanted to connect a port on the east coast of Japan with the Canadian steamship line, but since they knew there was no railroad from Nemuro to the southwest coast of Hokkaido, they hoped Hakodate would be opened. Then when the Trans-Siberian was finished, they could open a route between Siberia and the western coast of North America.[18]

Public Opinion

Outside the government, the public also showed interest in the advance of the Russian railroad. Among the "public," those interested in China, the "China ronin," looked at the Far East with deep foreboding. The strength of the Western powers endangered the very survival of the countries of the Far East. Korea was already too far gone to provide much of a defense, but China offered more hope. These men wanted to arouse China from her lethargy and make her an ally in the coming struggle with the West. Of course Japan would be the leader; that was to be expected since she was the most advanced country.

One of these men, Arao Kiyoshi, had become aware of the Russian threat while serving on the Army General Staff. Shortly thereafter he had resigned and moved to China to gather information. His headquarters was a store in Hankow called the Rakuzendō or Hall of Pleasurable Delights. From there Arao sent men all over China and Central Asia gathering intelligence for the Japanese. In the spring of 1888 the men at Rakuzendō heard about the Trans-Siberian railroad for the first time. If Russia built this railroad, then it, coupled with the Central Asian railroad, would allow Russia to attack China from the front and rear simultaneously. Arao sent men to the Ili valley to investigate the situation that year, but the attempt failed. In the spring of 1889 another group of men again set out, however after many hardships, all but one turned back. That one man continued on into Sinkiang and disappeared.[19]

There was good reason for the Japanese to be uneasy about the Russian threat. About 1887 the Japanese General Staff obtained a secret memorandum by an officer of the Russian General Staff, Lt. General Przheval'skii, called Shina kōryaku ron (On the conquest of China). The plan was divided into four stages with the first calling for simultaneous attacks on Manchuria and on the Ili. Thereafter by successive stages all of China would be subjected to Russian rule. Arao undoubtedly knew of this plan, and this may be what prompted him to send the group

to Central Asia in 1888.[20]

Among the politicians, one of the first men to sound the alarm against the Trans-Siberian was Gotō Shōjirō. In July of 1888 he toured northern Japan making speeches about the coming crisis. He felt Japan was facing a dangerous period. She was trying to revise the unequal treaties, but the European powers were resisting. All over Asia the Europeans were slowly subjugating Asian countries. Now only China and Japan remained independent. But even their days could be numbered. Russia was building a Trans-Siberian railroad that would terminate in Vladivostok. Other Europeans were building a Panama Canal. Both of these would allow the Europeans to reach the Far East even faster than before and would make it much easier to extend their power there. In Yamagata city, he pointed out that when the Trans-Siberian reached Vladivostok in four or five years, Russia would be able to transport her Cossacks to Sakata Bay very easily. This bay was just to the northwest of Yamagata. Again in Hirosaki city, he declared that the aggressive spirit in Europe showed no signs of diminishing. Now the Trans-Siberian would allow the Russians to move rapidly into the Far East. Moreover a great many of the workers on the railroad were not workers at all, but soldiers. He again alluded to the significance of the Panama Canal, coupling it to the Trans-Siberian.[21] Gotō sounded the alarm so often the Tokyo

newspapers nicknamed him "the Crisis Count" (kikyū sonbō haku).

Two years later Inagaki Manjirō published two books on the Far Eastern problem. In the English book he thought the most feasible policy for Russia would be an attack on the Anglo-Chinese alliance via Mongolia and Manchuria rather than to try to face England in the Pacific. That meant Russia should extend what was then the Omsk-Tomsk railroad to Kiakhta, Ust-Strelka, Nerchinsk and Blagoveshchensk. From Kiakhta a branch could then be run south to Urga. From Nerchinsk, Russia could push two branches into Chinese territory: one going via Tsitsihar, Kirin and Mukden to "some convenient harbour" on the Gulf of Pechihli or the Yellow Sea, or a second via Lake Hu-lun toward Peking. Another branch might be run from Blagoveshchensk through Mergen to Tsitsihar, the capital of Heilungkiang province.

However, Inagaki warned, "Russia should remember that a Russian annexation of Corea--'the Turkey' in Asia--would necessitate an alliance of England, China, and Japan, who all possess common interests in the Pacific and Yellow Sea; also that it might cause a second Crimean war in the Pacific instead of on the Black Sea." On the more positive side, Inagaki pointed out that "if the Russian Trans-Siberian railway scheme should be carried out to the Pacific at Vladivostok, it would open a very

large field of trade and commerce within inland Siberia to Japan."[22]

In the Japanese language version, Inagaki took a more belligerent tone toward Russia. This time he offered some rather positive measures Japan could take to use the Trans-Siberian for her own advantage. First, Japan should open the sea lanes between Vladivostok and Niigata and Hakodate. By this means trade might begin to flourish between the west coast of Japan and east coast of Siberia. However a railroad would have to be built to Niigata. Secondly, Japan should prepare Niigata or some other port along her western coast. When regular traffic opened on the Trans-Siberian, the time between Japan and any capital in Europe would be cut to 11 or 12 days. That could leave the Suez Canal a route for South Asia only, and all the other traffic would come via Japan. He also predicted a vast market in Siberia would be opened to Japan.[23]

The reaction of the press to the news of the Trans-Siberian railroad was mixed. Of course it would have a great impact on Japanese trade, politics and defense, but was it a sign of an aggressive drive by Russia? Here views differed. Some saw it as aggressive,[24] but noted it would also provide a new market for Japanese goods.[25] One writer suggested that by means of trade Russia and Japan could be brought together thereby dulling Russia's aggressive instincts. There were very good reasons

for trying to bring the two countries together. The Russian desire for Tsushima coupled with the unpreparedness of the Japanese Navy and the difficulty of defending the Japanese archipelago made some accommodation between the two desirable.[26]

The problem of China and Korea worried some writers. They felt that the railroad almost certainly meant a clash between Russia and China, either in Manchuria or over Korea. Yet they offered no policy for Japan.[27] One writer denigrated Russian military strength in the Far East and the influence of the Trans-Siberian by pointing out that the railroad would be narrow gauge and would not be able to transport large numbers of troops or supplies; it would be only a single track; it would not be very fast; and there was a lack of coal available for fuel.[28]

Others took a more positive approach. Inagaki Manjirō advocated sending Japanese settlers to the area between Vladivostok and the Korean frontier. Since Siberia was a land of the future Japan should establish colonies of her citizens along the shore.[29] The Asahi urged the government to get busy and investigate the commercial possibilities.[30]

Writing in the Tokyo keizai zasshi Taguchi Ukichi saw a golden opportunity for Japan when the Russian railroad was completed. Passengers and freight arriving in China from Europe would go via Japan. Since Vladivostok froze over during the winter Japan and Korea could become storage depots.

To reap the benefit Taguchi wanted the government to establish free trade zones and bonded warehouses.[31] Another writer while noting that Japanese exports to Russian Asia in 1890 were six times those of 1880 doubted Japan could compete with Chinese exports when the Trans-Siberian began carrying freight. He felt there might be a possibility for increasing exports of sake, but its quality would have to improve.[32] However the construction of the railroad and the development of Russo-Japanese trade did offer the possibility of helping balance the economic growth of Japan by providing a stimulus to that part of Japan bordering on the Sea of Japan which was lagging behind the rest of the country.[33]

In 1892 Inagaki published a pamphlet on the Trans-Siberian railroad. In it he seems to have developed the ideas put forth in his books two years previously. Now he declared that after the construction of the railroad, England and China would be helpless against Russia, but Japan had nothing to fear. On the contrary, Japan should use the railroad to penetrate Russia, and to that end, should build a commercial and naval port at Maizuru, the closest point to Vladivostok. He cited Russia's weakness in the Far East, her financial weakness in general and recommended an alliance of China, England and Japan against Russia.[34]

That same year another book aroused quite a bit of attention. Ōishi Masami, in a book called Nihon no idai seisaku (Great policy of Japan) presented a plan for an Anglo-Japanese alliance

against Russia as the best means of preserving peace in the Far East. Ōishi believed such an alliance could force Russia to make concessions, and he wanted to draw the new frontier of Russia at the Urals. The Trans-Siberian railroad was a threat to the Far East, but if Russia could be driven from Siberia, all that wide region could be thrown open to colonization by all nations.[35]

Positive Action

Language Schools. As construction of the Russian railroad actually got underway and the government began looking to its defenses, other men were preparing to take advantage of the opportunity the railroad would bring. One of the first steps that would have to be taken was the study of the Russian language. Nihonjin, the Kokkai and Ajia (one of the names Nihonjin adopted when forced to suspend publication) all began encouraging the study of Russian.[36]

The number of Russian language schools is difficult to estimate. However Table 1 shows the number from 1887 to 1892.[37] The most prestigious schools where Russian was taught were the Tokyo School of Foreign Languages and the one attached to the Russian Orthodox cathedral in Tokyo. The courses in these schools were good, if one took the trouble to study, and most of Japan's early Russian "experts" graduated

Table 1. Russian Language Schools, 1887-1892

Year	Schools	Instructors	Pupils
1887	1	6	90
1888	1	15	76
1889	1	8	58
1890	2	11	97
1891	5	18	73
1892	1	3	109

from one or the other of them.[38] However these were not the only schools. Table 1 shows a sudden increase in 1891 and a just-as-rapid-decrease the following year. It probably would not be too far wrong to attribute the increase to the visit of the Tsesarevich, Nicholas, to Japan in May 1891 and his laying of the first stone of the Trans-Siberian at the end of that month in Vladivostok. The short life of the schools was evidently a common fate. The three following examples may be taken as representative.

The Tōhō kyōkai (Oriental Association), which had no direct connection with the later TōA dōbukai although both included many of the same members, opened a Russian language school in Kanda in January 1892. Takahashi Kenzō was the head of the school. The purpose was to teach Russian, but also to nourish men who would be aware of Russia's aggressive policy in the Far East. Soon after the school opened there were 80 students enrolled. However as the Chinese and Korean problems became more acute, attention turned more and more toward them, and the language school languished.[39]

Another school grew up in Hokkaido, the island closest to Russia. On July 15, 1895 the Rogo kenkyūkai (Russian language research society) was founded in Sapporo. There was one teacher and 22 pupils. By the following year the number of pupils had risen to 40, and Konishi Masatarō, a graduate of

Moscow University, and the teacher, Ōmura Tokutarō, compiled a combination text-dictionary-conversation book. The school expanded again in 1896, the number of pupils rising to 50. At this point Nakano Jirō, owner of the Hokumon shimpō bought some Russian type and published a textbook in Russian. Thereafter Nakano remained closely associated with the school. In 1897 the school changed its name to the Rogo gakkō (Russian language school) and opened a branch, the Bōeki kenkyūjo (trade research office) in Otaru with 12 students. That summer Nakano took two students on a six-month trip to Russia and returned with a Russian and his wife to teach at the school. Thereafter the school offered three courses: special, regular and middle school. In 1898 the first class graduated and eight of their number were sent to Blagoveshchensk and four to Nikolaevsk. The following year in March 1899 a Chinese language teacher was hired and the name of the school was changed to the Hokkai Ro-Shin-go gakkō (Hokkai Russo-Chinese language school). That year ten students were sent to Chita and more new part-time teachers were hired. By then the school had 85 students in the special course and 35 in the regular course. Included were several students from the General Staff and the 7th Division.

Graduates of the school were sent to Russia to open general stores, photo studios and dentist offices. Here other students would be sent to gather information, but also to familiarize

themselves with spoken Russian. Several of these men were arrested by the Russian police as spies. Another activity of the school besides sending men to Russia to gather information was the translation of Russian books. Nakano Jirō and one of the graduates, Ken Fumio, translated Opisanie Man'chzhurii published by the Russian Ministry of Finance in 1897 and reputed to be the most complete account of Manchuria in any western language, as Manshū tsūshi (Tokyo: TōA dōbunkai: 1906).

However, financial difficulties forced the school to close in March 1900. Nakano then went to Tientsin, and when his attempt to establish a company failed, moved on to Peking. In January 1902 he travelled through Manchuria and reached Blagoveshchensk in March. There he remained until June with some of his school's graduates who were running a photographer's studio.[40]

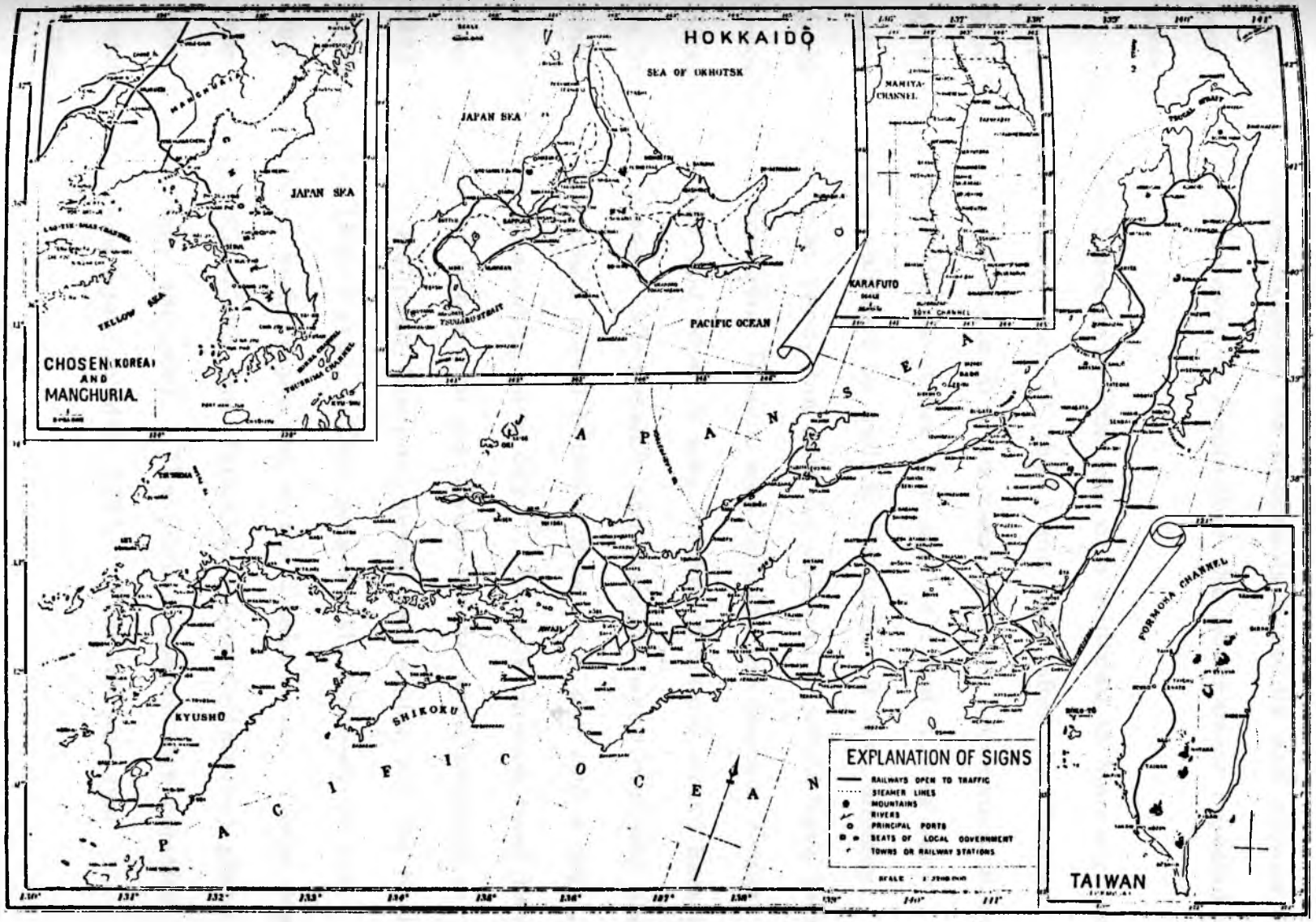
After the Sapporo school closed the rōnin in the person of Uchida Ryōhei opened another Russian language school in Kanda, Tokyo in December 1901. The following May the school moved to the headquarters of the anti-Russian Kokuryūkai (which will be discussed later). Unfortunately there is no information on how many students the school had or how long it remained open.[41]

Another group of men, mostly scholars, also opened a Russian language school. Satō Shukuji, a graduate of Kazan University, Shōji Shōgorō, from St. Petersburg University and

Konishi Masatarō, a graduate of Moscow University, decided in January 1896 to form a Rokoku kyōkai (Russian Association), and as a first step planned to open a language school. The school began classes on February 11, and by the next month had over 70 pupils. In April Shōji began editing a twice-monthly magazine of Russian translation, the Rogo tsūshin kōgi (Lectures on Russian Language). Ishimitsu Makiyo attended this school. He claims it opened with 30 pupils, but attendance soon dwindled to three, and the school closed after about two months.[42]

Railroad Construction. A second reaction in Japan involved railroad construction. In May 1889 Maizuru, a port on the Japan Sea coast almost directly north of Osaka, was made a naval yard. Since there were no railroads running in that direction, between April and June 1889 no less than six plans were submitted to the government for a railroad to Maizuru. The most important ones proposed a line either from the vicinity of Kobe, Osaka or Kyoto.[43] Seeing the necessity of such a railroad, the Nihonjin commented that when the Trans-Siberian railroad was finished it would have great commercial and military importance, and since the Japanese government had made Maizuru a naval yard, influential people in Osaka and Kyoto were fighting to build a railroad to Maizuru, both for the trade Vladivostok would offer and for the Japan Sea coast traffic. The magazine hoped the

GENERAL MAP OF JAPAN & MANCHURIA.



government would examine the proposals carefully and choose the best route.[44] However in September the government rejected all proposals.[45]

Thereafter there was little talk of a railroad to Maizuru and no proposals, but in June of 1892, one year after the Trans-Siberian had been begun in Vladivostok, Ishida Kannosuke stood up in the Lower House of the Diet and said that it was very important that a railroad be built to Maizuru. It was already designated a naval yard, but with no railroad it would have little importance. Moreover Russia was building the famous Trans-Siberian railroad and when it was finished Maizuru would become an important place. Vladivostok and Maizuru were opposite each other, and one could travel between them in a day and a night, or with a fast steamship, in a day.[46] Ishida's speech must have been indicative of thinking in the Kyoto-Osaka area because in 1893 the Kyoto Railroad Company presented a plan for the Kyoto -Maizuru line (Kei-Kaku). This was swiftly followed by two other proposals, both originating in the Osaka area. About one year later the Kei-Kaku and Han-Kaku (Osaka-Maizuru) plans were provisionally accepted. The third proposal was rejected in October 1895 and again in May 1897. That left just two competitors.[47]

A group of men in Kyoto had proposed a railroad between Kyoto and Maizuru in 1887, but had not been able to raise

enough capital. Then in 1889 another group offered to build the line, but asked for a government guarantee of 5% interest since they were afraid of not making any money. The government rejected the offer. Two years later when the railroad question was debated in the Diet, some influential men from Miyazu, a port a few miles to the southwest of Maizuru, appealed to the Governor of Kyoto-fu and the Kyoto City Council for aid in pressing their case for a railroad to Maizuru and Miyazu before the government.[48]

When the railroad law was promulgated in 1892 the Kei-Kaku line was not included, but the deputies from Kyoto-fu got the law revised and the railroad added. The following year Tanaka Gentarō and Wakamatsu Masatarō, two prominent Kyoto men, went to Tokyo and lobbied for a railroad company there. The Asahi supported the attempt by noting that a bill had passed to open the port of Miyazu to trade with Siberia and Korea, over government opposition, and that Japan must now prepare. A navy captain had reported that Miyazu was a good port, but needed a railroad. The paper went on to favor the extension of the Maizuru line to Miyazu, leaving the former a naval yard and making the latter the commercial port. If the government would not do the job, the paper felt private capital should.[49]

In July 1893 Tanaka and several other men got together and formed the Kyoto Railroad Company, a joint stock company with

a capital of ¥6,000,000. They proposed to build from Kyoto to Maizuru and on to Miyazu. The government gave the company provisional permission to begin in July 1894 and final permission the following January. By August 1899 the line had reached Sonobe, a distance of 22 miles, but the company showed little prospect of being able to complete it. In February 1902, as relations between Russia and Japan began to deteriorate several members of the Diet submitted a proposal calling for rapid completion of the line to Maizuru since that was an important naval yard. The government also recognized the necessity of finishing the line and in April notified the Kyoto Railroad Company that its permit to build the Maizuru line was revoked. The government paid the company for work on the unfinished portion and took over construction itself. Actual government construction began in May 1903 and the line from Fukuchiyama to Maizuru was opened in November 1904.[50]

The other line authorized by the government ran from Osaka to Maizuru. The group promoting this railroad justified it by claiming such a line would open the Japan Sea coast to the center of industry and commerce in Japan, Osaka. Actually their railroad never reached Maizuru; it stopped at Fukuchiyama. The line opened in July 1899, but it ran nowhere. Consequently in December 1900 the Great Northern Railroad Company (the name the Han-Kaku line adopted) asked permission to build from

Fukuchiyama on to Maizuru. As justification they cited the fact that the Kyoto Railroad Company's Fukuchiyama-Maizuru line was behind schedule, that their line was isolated, and that the railroad connecting the north with the commercial center had been stopped within seeing distance of its goal. Such a situation hurt not only the company but also the country and certainly the military.[51] The Jiji supported the Han-Kaku line's proposal, noting that the Kyoto Railroad was falling further and further behind and that it would take about ¥7 million to complete, whereas the Han-Kaku could build the last 21 miles between Fukuchiyama and Maizuru for about ¥2 million.[52]

However in July 1901 the government refused the Han-Kaku line permission to build the last section, preferring to do it itself. Six months later, in January 1902, the Han-Kaku company re-submitted its petition, and this time there was a debate in the Diet. The heads of the Osaka and Kobe Chambers of Commerce pointed out that there was still no railroad connection between the Japan Sea coast and the Kobe-Osaka area even though Maizuru was an important naval yard.[53] The president of the Han-Kaku railroad said that if the government could not buy the last link from the Kyoto Railroad Company, then the Han-Kaku company would be happy to do the work under government supervision with a suitable subsidy and guaranteed interest.[54] The mayor of Maizuru asked the government to buy the unfinished

part and build it because the naval yard, and his city, remained isolated,[55] and the mayor of Miyazu, the prospective commercial port, pointed out that his city was an important point on the Osaka-Vladivostok trade route, but as yet there was no connection between it and Osaka. Moreover the naval yard at Maizuru remained isolated, and the completion of the Trans-Siberian-CER and Seoul-Pusan railroads meant increased importance for the Japan Sea coast. He asked that the railroad be finished quickly.[56]

Nevertheless the government rejected the Han-Kaku bid, and did the work itself. Then in October 1904 the Han-Kaku company leased the government's Fukuchiyama-Maizuru line, and the line between Osaka and Maizuru opened in November 1904.[57]

Maizuru and Miyazu were not the only ports to which promoters were trying to lay railroads. In August 1893 23 important men in Toyama, Toyama-ken requested permission to build a private railroad to connect the port of Nanao, on the Noto peninsula, with the main Hokuriku trunk line. In their petition these men declared that Russia had recently begun construction on the Trans-Siberian railroad and when it was finished European and Asian goods would certainly meet in Vladivostok. That in turn meant Russo-Japanese trade would prosper. Nanao was the obvious port on the Japan Sea coast since it was directly opposite Vladivostok. However there was at present no railroad

planned to connect the Hokuriku line, now under construction, with Nanao. For that reason the promoters proposed to build such a railroad. It would be 34 miles in length, and the company to build it was capitalized at ¥700,000.

The government granted provisional permission to the company in September 1894 and final permission in April 1896. Work began in 1896 and was completed two years later, but the Hokuriku line did not reach the junction until November 1898.[58] Thereafter Nanao had railroad connections with the main Japanese lines all the way to Tokyo. The port of Nanao was opened to foreign trade in August 1897.

Further north a group of men in Niigata, a port long open for trade, submitted a proposal in November 1893 to build a railroad from one of the main north-south lines across to Niigata. Their company was capitalized at ¥5,000,000 and would build from Kōriyama through Wakamatsu to Niigata. Several routes were talked about at one time or another varying in length from 105 to 252 miles. However no work was done on the line until 1898, and by September 1906 only 49 miles had been laid. One of the justifications the promoters used was the Trans-Siberian railroad and the effect it would have on the defense of Japan and on industry, presumably meaning trade.[59]

Opening of Ports. While some men were petitioning to build

as many cattle could be exported as was thought, and it would cost too much to administer an open port. Regarding the first point, the spokesman said that almost half of the cattle in the Santan area were cows which could not be exported. Others had to be used for work and to supply meat for the Japanese market. A member of the upper house speaking in support of the government noted that Japan was already importing cheap meat from Korea and infected cattle had spread their disease in Japan. He was afraid larger exports of Japanese cattle could lead to imports of more Korean cattle and more disease. Concerning the second point, the government estimated the cost of operating a customs station at about ¥2,000 annually. When questioned about the impact of the Trans-Siberian on Russo-Japanese trade, the government spokesman said the railroad had not been completed and Japan could make accommodation for it in the future.[61]

In spite of government objections, the bill passed both houses, and a law was promulgated opening Miyazu to trade with Vladivostok and Korea effective April 1, 1893.[62] At that time there were several types of trading ports in Japan. The oldest, Yokohama, Kobe, Osaka, Nagasaki, Hakodate and Niigata were commercial ports open to both foreigners and Japanese. The other ports, of which Miyazu was one, were limited to Japanese ships and were called tokubetsu yūshutsu kō (special

import-export ports). These were limited to trade with specific countries, trade in specific commodities or a combination of the two.

After surveying the debate in the Diet, the Chūgai shōgyō shimpō, a business oriented newspaper, concluded that Miyazu was the best possible port on the Japan Sea coast to be opened to trade. It was close to the Kyoto-Osaka industrial center, and the demand in Vladivostok for that area's products was growing rapidly. Vladivostok needed stone for construction of the port and Miyazu had a plentiful supply. The demand for beef in Vladivostok was growing and the Santan was a beef producing area. In addition the port was also a good one for trade with Korea.[63]

The promise of trade even affected Niigata, a commercial port. In July 1893 there was only one trading company in the port. The port itself was too narrow and shallow to attract much trade. For that reason a group of men got together and planned to raise and spend about ¥775,000 on improvements. As a justification, they cited the impact the Trans-Siberian would have on commerce and defense when it was completed in a few years.[64]

If the government opposed the opening of Miyazu, it proposed the opening of Fushiki and Otaru to trade with Siberia and Korea. The bill came before the Diet in May 1894, and the

question immediately arose, why these two? Otaru was understandable since it was close to Vladivostok and was an important port in Hokkaidō, but why Fushiki? Why not Tsuruga or other ports? The government's answer was that Fushiki already had a customs office since it was a special import-export port, consequently there would not have to be a large expenditure. The bill passed the lower house without debate or questions and quickly went through the upper house. On May 22, 1894, the Kampō announced that as of July 1, Fushiki and Otaru would be open for trade with the Russian Maritime province, Sakhalin, and Korea.[65]

In 1895 members of the Diet once again began proposing ports be opened for trade with Siberia. One of the most important was a bill to open Tsuruga. Introduced into the lower house in February 1895, the bill touted Tsuruga's central location. It would be easy to gather goods from its own area, from the Kyoto-Osaka industrial area, and from Ōmi and Owari. Moreover since it was only 480 nautical miles from Tsuruga to Vladivostok travel time would be reduced to 48 hours, where it took 15 days from Kobe to Vladivostok. The speaker also noted the role the Trans-Siberian railroad was destined to play in Russo-Japanese trade.[66]

In March the bill was debated. This time its supporters added that Japan needed the trade to recoup the money being

spent in China and Korea to hire laborers and animals necessary for the war. Moreover a Russian official (Zabugin who will be discussed later) had recently been in Japan to look at trade possibilities. In his opinion the Trans-Siberian railroad would be usable in three years, and he wanted to see what preparations the Japanese had made.[67]

Another group of men was trying to get Aomori opened for trade with Siberia. They noted that in five or six years the Trans-Siberian would be completed. At that time Vladivostok would flourish, and since Aomori was the closest to Vladivostok (excluding Hokkaidō), only 420 nautical miles, it should be opened for trade. The city, on the northern tip of Honshū, had a wide deep harbor and was connected with Tokyo by the main Tōhoku line and with the Japan Sea coast by another line. These men estimated that Aomori and Mutsu Bay could export annually about 3.5 million bushels of rice, about 26.9 million gallons of rice oil, and perhaps 900,000 to 1.4 million gallons of bean paste and shōyu (soy sauce).[68]

During 1895 bills to open Tsuruga, Sakai, Aomori, Hamada, Shimonoseki, Moji and Hakata were submitted to the Diet. The government opposed all of them, and all failed.[69] However their supporters were back the following year. By then government opposition had weakened, and as of November 1, 1896, Hakata, Tsuruga, Karatsu, Sakai, Kuchinotsu and Hamada were opened

to trade with Siberia.[70]

One man, however, was skeptical of the benefits that would accrue from the opening of these ports. Taguchi Ukichi believed that the government was going about trying to make Japan's trade flourish in the wrong way. He noted that only Japanese could use these new ports and thought that the choice of ports was poor. Taguchi proposed that instead of three Japan Sea ports: Tsuruga, Sakai and Hamada, it would be more advantageous to open Pacific ports such as Tokyo, Shimizu and Yokkaichi. The implied reason is that the volume of trade on the Japan Sea with Korea and Russia would not be as much as that on the Pacific with other countries.[71]

Business Organizations. As more ports began to be opened to trade with Siberia, men began to take more interest in the possibilities of trade with Russia and organize companies to promote such trade. One of the first such companies was the Nichi-Ro-Kan bōeki kaisha (The Russo-Japanese-Korean Trading Company). It was organized by Kōmuchi Tomotsune in Miyazu in April 1893, the same month the port was opened. The company was to have branches in Vladivostok and Wŏnsan with more to be added as trade developed. It was capitalized at ¥200,000 with one share selling for ¥50. Naturally the main export items were to be stone and cattle from Miyazu.[72] The trade did not

prosper at Miyazu and nothing more was heard of the company.

A more permanent organization was founded in April 1894 by a group of men that could be termed Russian "specialists," that is they were all interested in Russia and most of them served in Russia at one time or another. Magaki Jōchō had been 2nd Chancellor at the Japanese Legation in St. Petersburg 1879-81. Amano Kojirō had served as Chancellor there in 1885. Katō Masuo had been Secretary 1886-88 and 1st Secretary 1889-90. Furukawa Tsuneichirō had studied Russian at the Russian language school in Father Nikolai's cathedral in Tokyo and later taught Russian in a number of schools. Shōji Shōgorō became a student interpreter in Vladivostok 1897-1900. Andō Kensuke had served in the consulate at Korsakov 1877-79, and in St. Petersburg in 1881 and 1885. Many of the other members were businessmen and included Ozaki Saburō, one of the promoters of the Seoul-Pusan railroad and Asano Sōichirō a shipping magnate who imported kerosene from Baku.

At the first meeting on April 10, 1894 the men decided to call their organization the Nichi-Ro kyōkai (Russo-Japanese Association); later it was changed to the Nichi-Ro jitsugyō kyōkai (Russo-Japanese Business Association). Their purpose was to better Russo-Japanese relations through the development of trade, and to do this they planned to send men to investigate commercial possibilities in Russia. The association also planned to undertake

the surveying of sea routes to Vladivostok and even to publish a magazine. Members of the Russian Legation attended the meetings, and Hitrovo, the Russian Minister, gave a speech at one of them.

In the opinion of both Magaki and Enomoto Takeaki, a former minister to Russia, the Trans-Siberian railroad would open up great possibilities for trade between Japan and Asiatic Russia. Now the trade involved mostly Japanese exports, but the railroad would open the interior of Siberia and allow more Russian exports. Magaki pointed out that even the Russians were thinking about the new possibilities. The Russian government had set up a committee to investigate trade with China, Japan and Korea, and the Russian Society for the Promotion of Trade and Industry was sending men to look at commercial conditions in the Far East. Magaki predicted that the principal Japanese export would be black tea. Since the railroad would be completed in six years, he proposed that information be gathered about the Russian market and contact established with the Society for the Promotion of Trade and Industry and other business organizations.

It is difficult to find out just what this association did, although it did publish at least two issues of a report. Newspaper reports of its meetings simply show that there were speeches discussing Russo-Japanese trade, fishing problems and the like. The last mention of the association was in March 1896, just

before Hitrovo returned to Russia.[73]

Shipping Lines. With all the talk about the promotion of trade and the bright future once the Trans-Siberian railroad was completed, there was very little profit to be had in shipping lines between Japan and Vladivostok and Sakhalin. The first company to establish a regular service was the Nihon yūsen kaisha (NYK). It began with one ship on the Vladivostok run in 1881, and by 1894 had added another. The general route was Kobe-Nagasaki -Pusan-Wŏnsan-Vladivostok and return. In 1902 the NYK had to be given a ¥10,000 subsidy for the Wŏnsan-Vladivostok portion.[74]

A second company, the Nichi-Ro kisen kaisha (Russo-Japanese Steamship Company), tried to break into the business in 1893 with a run from Niigata to Vladivostok. The company's purpose was to prepare Niigata for the profit to be made when the Trans-Siberian was completed by establishing regular merchant services. It also wanted to move Japanese fishermen to Vladivostok in order to be in a position to obtain a larger share of the Siberian fishing grounds. By the end of the year the company had failed and a joint stock company was announced to take its place. The new company's route was not directly between Niigata and Vladivostok, an obviously unprofitable one, but between various ports on the Japan Sea coast and Hokkaidō

and Vladivostok. The fate of the company is unknown.[75]

In the years before the Sino-Japanese War Japanese government leaders had shown themselves well aware of the threat to Japanese security the Trans-Siberian would bring and had begun to prepare their defenses. Among them a few even believed that the railroad had brought Japan some positive good in that it had forced Great Britain to make concessions in treaty revision. However other men, while not particularly denying that the railroad could be a threat, began moving quickly to take economic advantage of the line. New ports were opened to trade with Siberia, and groups of men began agitating for railroads to be built to their port town so that they would have some connection with the internal Japanese market. Trade firms and societies were organized by men interested in trade with Russia, and a new shipping firm even opened regular service over an untried route. Yet as all these men were to discover, it was still too early to profit from any trade.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Yasuoka Akio, "Nisshin sensō mae no tairiku seisaku," Kokusai seiji. Nihon gaikō shi kenkyū. Nisshin-Nichi-Ro sensō, No. 19 (1961), pp. 15-30. Fujimura Zen, "Nisshin sensō to waga tairiku seisaku," Gunji shigaku, IV, 4 (Feb., 1969), 38-71.

[2]Oyama Azusa, Yamagata Aritomo ikensho (Tokyo, 1966), pp. 173-185.

[3]"Itō ke monjo," LI, 56-58. Mutsu to Itō, Oct. 19, 1888.

[4]Oyama, Ikensho, pp. 196-200. Although both Yamagata and his Foreign Minister, Aoki Shūzō, favored an agreement with Great Britain and Germany concerning Korea, apparently no steps were taken to initiate talks.

[5]Takehito Shinnō gyojitsu (Tokyo, 1929), II, 206-209.

[6]Sakane Yoshihisa, "Aoki Shūzō ron," Kokusai seiji. Nihon gaikō shi kenkyū. Gaikō shidōsha ron, No. 33 (1966), pp. 22-23.

[7]NGB, XXII, No. 247, May 15, 1890.

[8]Oyama, Ikensho, pp. 201-204. This speech is summarized in Roger Hackett, Yamagata Aritomo in the Rise of Modern Japan, 1838-1922 (Cambridge, Mass., 1971), pp. 138-139.

[9]Shimanouchi Toshie, Tani Kanjō ikō (Tokyo, 1912), II, 153-162. Tani was part of what has been called the conservative opposition. See Barbara J. Teters, "The Conservative Opposition in Japanese Politics, 1877-1894," PhD dissertation, University of Washington, 1955.

[10]Dai Nihon teikoku gikai shi (Tokyo, 1926), I, 1214-1215. On the construction of coastal defenses in western Japan see Jōhōji Tomomi, "Meiji jidai no waga kuni nishibu no kaigan yōsai ni tsuite," Gunji shigaku, No. 4 (Feb., 1966), pp. 31-48.

[11]Tokutomi Iichirō, Rikugun taishō Kawakami Soroku (Tokyo, 1942), pp. 112-124. Tokyo Asahi Shimbun, May 18, 1893 (Hereafter Asahi).

[12]Tokutomi Iichirō, Kōshaku Yamagata Aritomo den (Tokyo, 1933), III, 96. For Fukushima's report see Ōta Azan, Fukushima shōgun iseki (Tokyo, 1941), pp. 1-224.

[13]Oyama, Ikensho, pp. 215-222.

[14]Hiratsuka, HSRS: Heisei kankei shiryō (Tokyo, 1935), pp. 12-16.

[15]Kaigun yūshūkai, Kinsei teikoku kaigun shiryō (Tokyo, 1938), pp. 86-87.

[16]Yamamoto haku denki hensankai, Hakushaku Yamamoto Gonnohyoe den (Tokyo, 1968), I, 402-409 (Hereafter Yamamoto den). Gikai shi, I, 1998. Ikeda Kiyoshi, Nihon no kaigun (Tokyo, 1966), I, 106-107.

[17]NGB, XXIV, No. 6, Enomoto's opinion, October 1891. Yamamoto Shigeru, Jōyaku kaisei shi (Tokyo, 1943), p. 421 and Roy Akagi, Japan's Foreign Relations (Tokyo, 1936), p. 107 both repeat Enomoto's statement, but without attributing it to him.

[18]NGB, XXVII/I, No. 39, Aoki to Mutsu, May 31, 1894.

[19]Marius Jansen, The Japanese and Sun Yat-sen (Cambridge, Mass., 1954), pp. 49-53. Kokuryūkai, ed., TōA senkaku shishi kiden (Tokyo, 1933), I, 382-383, 386-394 (Hereafter TSSK).

[20]TSSK, I, 550-551. Although it is difficult to be sure, I believe this plan or something similar may be found in Sbornik po Azii, I (1883), 293-306. N. M. Przheval'skii, "O vozmozhnoi voine s Kitaem." The romanization of the Japanese kana is Purejuwaskii. This I take to be Przheval'skii.

[21]Ōmachi Keigetsu, Hakushaku Gotō Shōjirō (Tokyo, 1914), pp. 604-626.

[22]Inagaki Manjirō, Japan and the Pacific and A Japanese View of the Eastern Question (London, 1890), pp. 34-54.

[23]Inagaki Manjirō, Tōhō saku (Tokyo, 1890), pp. 58-82.

[24]Nihonjin, No. 7 (July 3, 1888), p. 31

[25]Ibid., No. 26 (June 3, 1889), pp. 1-5.

[26]Ibid., No. 67 (Jan. 20, 1891), pp. 10-12.

[27]Ibid., No. 66 (Jan. 13, 1891), pp. 7-12; No. 67 (Jan. 20, 1891), pp. 1-5; No. 69 (March 24, 1891), pp. 20-22.

[28]Ibid., No. 61 (Dec. 9, 1890), pp. 1-6.

[29]Nippon, cited in Japan Weekly Mail, Feb. 20, 1892 (Hereafter JWM).

[30]Jan. 20, 1894.

[31]April 7, 1891, in Teiken Taguchi Ukichi zenshū (Tokyo, 1928), IV, 397-398.

[32]Kokumin no tomo, June 23, 1891.

[33]Kokumin shimbun, cited in JWM, Aug. 29, 1891.

[34]A student in the Russian Legation in Tokyo, Nikolai Aleksandrovich Raspopov, translated Inagaki's pamphlet, paying special attention to Chapter IX, "O gotovnosti laponii pered sibirskoi zheleznoi dorogi," (About the preparedness of Japan before the Siberian railroad). Narochnitskii, p. 586.

[35]Ōishi became Japanese Minister Resident in Korea in December 1892 and remained there until July 1893. His book was translated by someone in the Russian Legation in Seoul under the title Velikaia politika laponii (Great Policy of Japan). Narochnitskii, p. 582. The Asahi of Aug. 13, 1893 reported that the book had attracted wide attention and that it was to be translated into Korean, Chinese, Russian, French and English.

[36]Nihonjin, No. 65 (Jan. 6, 1891), pp. 7-10. Kokkai, as cited in JWM, March 7, 1891. Ajia, No. 19 (Nov. 2, 1891), pp. 6-7.

[37]JWM, May 23, 1896.

[38]Peter Berton, et al., Japanese Training and Research in the Russian Field (Los Angeles, 1956), pp. 11-33.

[39]TSSK, I, 419-420. TōA dōbunkai, ed., Tai-Shi kaiko roku (Tokyo, 1936), I, 678-679. The Tōhō kyōkai collapsed during the Sino-Japanese war.

[40]Tai-Shi kaiko roku, II, 323-338.

[41]Kokuryūkai kurabu, ed., Kokushi Uchida Ryōhei den (Tokyo, 1967), p. 257. TSSK, I, 682-683.

[42]Asahi, Jan. 12, March 14, April 11, 1896. Ishimitsu Makiyo, Jōka no hito (Tokyo, 1958), p. 296.

[43]Japan. Railroad Ministry. Nihon tetsudō shi (Tokyo, 1921), II, 565-566.

[44]Nihonjin, No. 26 (June 3, 1889), p. 26.

[45]Nihon tetsudō shi, II, 566-568.

[46]Gikai shi, I, 2086-2087.

[47]Nihon tetsudō shi, II, 568-569; Asahi, June 21, 1893.

[48]Ibid., 504-512. Unless otherwise noted, the history of the Kyoto Railroad Co. comes from these pages.

[49]Asahi, March 24, 1893.

[50]Nihon tetsudō shi, II, 152-154; Asahi, May 26, 1894.

[51]Ibid., 569-573. In the December proposal, the Han-Kaku line promoters had the approval of Hoshi Tōru, Minister of Communications. This new push by the Osaka group prompted several members of the Kyoto Railroad Co. to visit Prince Konoe Atsumarō, President of the House of Peers, to enlist his aid for their venture. Konoe promised to work for them because he believed their line promised to be the most useful for defensive purposes. Konoe Atsumarō nikki kankōkai, Konoe Atsumarō nikki (Tokyo, 1968), III, 418. Entry for Dec. 23, 1900.

[52]As cited in JWM, Oct. 26, 1901.

[53]Gikai shi, V, 1319.

[54]Ibid., 1373.

[55]Ibid., 1396.

[56]Ibid., 1427.

[57]Nihon tetsudō shi, II, 574, 212-213.

[58]Ibid., 598-605, 128.

[59]Ibid., 617-622; Asahi, Nov. 17, 1893.

[60]Gikai shi, II, 1045. [61]Ibid., 332-333, 351-353.

[62]Asahi, March 1, 16, 1893. Kampō, March 15, 1893.

[63]Cited in Kokumin no tomo, March 3, 1893.

[64]Asahi, July 11, 1893.

[65]Gikai shi, II, 1362-1363, 1512. Kampō, May 22, 1894.

[66]Ibid., III, 627-628. [67]Ibid., 859-862.

[68]Ibid., 696-697. [69]Ibid., 273-274, 698.

[70]Ibid., 1718. Asahi, Jan. 20, Oct. 4, 1896.

[71]Taguchi zenshū, IV, 510-512, citing Tokyo keizai zasshi, No. 846 (Oct. 10, 1896).

[72]Asahi, April 14, 1893.

[73]Asahi, April 12, May 8, June 17, 26, Aug. 25, 28, 1894; March 31, 1895; March 6, 1896; Jiji, June 15, 1894 in Nakayama Yasumasa, ed., Shimbun shūsei Meiji hennen shi (Tokyo, 1934-40), IX, 85; Tokyo Nichi-Nichi, April 9, 1895, Ibid., 234 (Hereafter SSMH).

[74]Asahi, May 1, 1894; Nihonjin, No. 163 (May 20, 1902), pp. 19-23 and Tōyō kaizai shimpō, No. 23 (June 25, 1896), pp. 17-29.

[75]Asahi, April 8, May 24, Dec. 23, 1894.

PART TWO: CONTIGUITY OR CONFLICT

CHAPTER III. THE RUSSIAN THRUST TO THE PACIFIC

The first few years after the Sino-Japanese War brought a new set of problems to the Far East and with them a new set of opportunities. For Russia the opportunity presented itself as a means of compensation for the aid rendered China in making Japan return the Liaotung peninsula and for the loan extended to China to help pay the indemnity due Japan under the Treaty of Shimonoseki. By way of return, Russia got the right to build a railroad across Manchuria. The line, in turn, opened up new possibilities. Should Russia seek an ice-free port in Korea, or should she attempt to obtain one further south, say on the Liaotung peninsula? For Japan the end of the war brought one overriding problem: Korea. How could Japan keep Russia out? Both countries began a round of railroad construction and agreements.

The Chinese Eastern Railroad

Witte had mentioned the desirability of building the Trans-Siberian railroad straight across Manchuria in 1892. He justified his desire on economic grounds. A railroad along the Amur River would compete with private shipping, and it was important that such shipping be developed as much as possible.

Moreover a railroad through Manchuria would be shorter and that would mean lower freight rates. It would pass through an area with a better climate and more productive soil and thus would attract freight to pay for itself. With the development of trade, Vladivostok would become the natural port for a large part of Manchuria. Later when trade began to develop with China, it would be easier to construct branches from the Manchurian line to the south than it would be to build bridges over the Amur.[1]

Surveys on the Amur were carried out during 1894-95, and they showed how difficult the line would be to build. These technical difficulties suited the director of the Amur Company who in February 1895 suggested that Russia lay the railroad from Novo Tsurukhai via Mergen to Blagoveshchensk. Witte accepted the proposal and forwarded it to Lobanov, who included it on the list of "urgent needs" presented to Nicholas on March 25/April 6. The director didn't let the matter drop there. He wanted the railroad away from the Amur, and in May he again reported to Witte that the Chinese might consent to moving the Russian boundary south (to the railroad) rather than have the Japanese on the continent.[2]

Makeev was not the only one calling for a Manchurian railroad. Novoe Vremia and other papers revived Kopytov's project of 1887 that would follow the line: Kiakhta-Abagaitui-Tsitsihar-Kirin-Ninguta-Nikol'sk-Vladivostok. At the same time they also

raised the cry for the right to construct a line to the Yellow Sea, thereby giving Russia an ice-free port.[3] However some of this speculation cooled off, and The Times' correspondent in St. Petersburg reported that no Russian proposal for a Manchurian line had been presented to the Chinese government and that any such compensation was not likely to be immediate, although sooner or later Russia must have an ice-free port.[4]

The opinion of the diplomats was divided. The American Ambassador in St. Petersburg, H. H. D. Peirce, reported that Lobanov had denied that Russia either desired to run her railroad across northern Manchuria or to control any territory in the Far East outside her own possessions. Peirce himself believed that while Russia certainly would like to build across Manchuria, it was difficult to see how she could take care of either Korea or the Liaotung peninsula if she built a railroad there.[5] The British Chargé in Tokyo, Gerard Lowther, thought Russia might guarantee the Chinese loan if China would build a railroad from Russian territory to the Liaotung, but the Foreign Secretary didn't know anything about the matter, and didn't consider it pressing.[6] On the other hand, Nishi Tokujirō, Japanese Minister in St. Petersburg, reported that although Russia had attached no conditions to the loan, that did not rule out future compensation. Personally Nishi believed that if Russia ever did demand anything it would be to build the railroad across Manchuria and to take

possession of the right bank of the Amur down to the railroad.[7]

Witte does not seem to have begun the Chinese loan negotiations with the idea of compensation in the form of a short-cut for the railroad. Rather, since he found out about the loan only after negotiations were already in progress in Europe, he rushed in to get Russia a share. That does not mean he was blind to the advantages that might be obtained however. In his report of July 14/26, 1895 Witte noted that the Russo-Chinese Bank (the agency making the loan) "might prove an extremely useful instrument in the hands of the Russian government for the latter's effectuation of measures bearing an intimate relationship to the completion of the construction of the Siberian railway."[8]

Unknown to Witte and the other ministers, Prince M. I. Khilkov, the Minister of Ways of Communication, had asked for and received Nicholas' permission to "reconnoitre for a Manchurian line" in May 1895. In October when Lobanov heard of Peking's uneasiness with Russian engineers in Manchuria, he asked Witte what the men were doing, but Witte knew nothing about it.[9]

The Russian surveying parties started out from Vladivostok in early October and didn't return until about the middle of November. The chief of the party announced that they had been welcomed by the people, but that it would be difficult to lay a railroad.[10] This activity created quite a stir. The Times

reported on October 26 that Russia had received the right to anchor in Port Arthur and lay a railroad from Nerchinsk via Tsitsihar to Vladivostok with a branch from Tsitsihar to Port Arthur. St. Petersburg denied it, and Li Hung-chang said that Russia would not enter Port Arthur and China herself would build the railroad to connect with the Russian line.[11]

At this time Russia was just coming around to the idea. Witte brought up the subject of a Manchurian short-cut in his report to the Emperor on October 30/November 11, 1895. At that time he began to draw up a memorandum for a railroad concession and another that would serve Count Artur Pavlovich Kassini, Minister to China (1891-97), as a guide in negotiations. However when the opening of those negotiations was delayed, Kassini reported that Peking was growing uneasy. On December 16/28 he dismissed as impracticable demands such as the governors-general of the Steppe and the Amur suggested. These included rectification of the frontier, annexation of Chinese territory and the revision of the Treaty of 1881. Instead he recommended concentrating on a concession for a Manchurian railroad.[12]

The question quickly came to be what route should the railroad take? Two men, Count D. A. Kapnist, Director of the Asiatic Department of the Foreign Ministry, and General S. M. Dukhovskoi, Governor-General of the Priamur, both objected to a railroad to Vladivostok. They preferred to build only across

the northern tip of Manchuria, i.e., from Novo-Tsurukhai to Blagoveshchensk. Kapnist felt the economic justifications put forth by Witte in no way made up for the political liabilities. He foresaw that to protect and operate the line, Russia would have to take over the internal administration of Manchuria and that could only be done by military occupation (very prophetic it turned out). Moreover he was afraid such a concession might begin the partition of China.[13]

Dukhovskoi seconded Kapnist's cautious approach. In addition to the relatively short railroad Kapnist advocated, Dukhovskoi wanted work continued on the Amur line. The critical period would be the next four to six years, during which Russia must push the construction of the Trans-Siberian and increase her armed forces in the Far East. Looking at the next decade and beyond Dukhovskoi saw a whole series of Russian railroads. One through Kiakhta into the interior of China. Another from the Transbaikal through Manchuria to Vladivostok, Pos'et and Newchwang, and a third along the Amur. However these railroads could only be constructed if Russia operated from a position of strength, and at present she did not.[14]

Witte never answered Kapnist directly, but on March 31/ April 12, 1896 he did reply to Dukhovskoi. Once again he emphasized the economic advantages of a railroad across Manchuria: shorter, cheaper, easier to build, nearer to the settled

areas of China. Given the race for railroad concessions by the other powers in China, a Russian line directly across Manchuria would allow Russia to move her troops to Vladivostok in the shortest possible time, to concentrate them in Manchuria on the banks of the Yellow Sea and near the Chinese capital. Russia's prestige in the Far East could not help but rise. Furthermore such a railroad would make it possible for Vladivostok to become the natural port for a large part of Manchuria, an agrument Witte had touched on in 1892.[15]

Negotiations for the concession began shortly after Witte answered Dukhovskoi. Kassini made his proposal to the Tsungli Yamen on April 6/18, 1896 for a concession for a line across Manchuria to Vladivostok and also for subsidiary lines. These were to be given to a Russian company with no foreign participation. The Chinese deliberated for 12 days and on April 18/30 told Kassini they had decided not to grant such concessions to any foreign power or any foreign company. However they would agree to build a Manchurian railroad with the aid of Russian engineers and material. Since Kassini could not move the Chinese, the negotiations were transferred to St. Petersburg.[16]

In St. Petersburg Li Hung-chang, who had gone to Russia ostensibly for the coronation of Nicholas II, handled the talks. In response to Witte's plan, Li took the same position that the Tsungli Yamen had taken with Kassini. Neither Witte nor the

Emperor could move him, but Lobanov piqued his interest when he suggested a mutual defense treaty might be included in the talks. When Lobanov gave Li a draft of the proposed agreement, Li favored it, but the Chinese government made a counter-proposal in which China would build the railroad with Russian assistance. Lobanov rejected all the Chinese counter-proposals and told Li that if the Russian railroad demands were not met, there was no need to discuss any other provisions. On May 29 the Chinese officials in Peking decided to sign, and an Imperial edict of May 30 gave Li full powers.[17]

Russia got the right to build a railroad across Manchuria, but the contract was to be between the Russo-Chinese Bank and the Chinese government (as Nicholas had suggested), not between governments. Nor did Russia get the right to build a branch to the Yellow Sea. The question was left open because Li demanded that Russia build the branch in the narrow Chinese gauge which Witte refused to consider. In return, China got a 15-year defense alliance directed principally against Japan.[18]

The contract for the railroad was signed on August 27/ September 8, 1896, but not published until the following December. The terms stipulated that all the shares in the Chinese Eastern Railroad (CER) were to be owned by Russia and China. The road would be built in the Russian broad gauge, and the company would own the land necessary for the operation

of the line. Moreover such land would be tax exempt, and the company had the sole right of administration. No duty would be paid on imported construction materials, and one-third less would be paid on Chinese imports and exports. China, in return, could send her official mail free and her troops for half price. The Chinese government was to be responsible for any deficit the company might incur and could buy back the line at the end of 36 years, repaying all capital, debts and interest, or the line would revert to China at the end of 80 years.[19]

Before the contract was published another document, the "Cassini Convention," provided the only basis for Russian intentions. Published by the North China Herald on October 30, 1896 the convention included several of the articles in the contract although in slightly different form, but it also gave Russia much more. Included were articles allowing Russia to provide money for the Kirin-Mukden railroad, mandating that almost any Chinese railroad from Shanhaikuan into Manchuria would be in the Russian guage, broad Russian mining rights in Manchuria, and giving Russia the right to furnish military instructors for Chinese troops in Manchuria. The wide latitude given Russia could not fail to excite public opinion. However the contract may have cooled off some of the speculation with its more definite terms.[20]

Already in 1896 the Minister of Ways of Communication had provisionally selected a route for the railroad that ran from Onon

station on the Transbaikal line through Hailar, Tsitsihar, Hu-lan-ch'eng (Harbin) and Ninguta to Nikol'sk. More exact surveys were made from 1897 to 1899. Two possible routes emerged. The northern approach followed that of the Ministry of Ways of Communications, that is, via Tsitsihar and Hu-lan-ch'eng. The southern variant ran from Ninguta to Bodune. Although it was longer than the northern alternative by about 95 miles it passed nearer the population centers of Kirin and Mukden (Feng-t'ien) provinces. However, surveys showed that it would also be technically more difficult to build, would cost more, and would take longer. Not mentioned in any official publications is the fact that the Chinese government also opposed the southern route.[21]

Construction of the CER began in August 1897, and by March 1899 the ground work for the western part of the line (Harbin-Manchouli) had been completed and the first 13 miles of line completed. On the eastern portion of the line (Harbin-Pogrannichnaia) work began simultaneously from Harbin and from the Russian frontier in October 1898. By the summer of 1900 when the Boxer disturbances halted construction the line stretched 159 miles from Harbin and 80 miles from the Russian frontier, a total of 239 miles. In all 252 miles of a total of 943 had been completed, as had about 40% of the earthworks.[22]

As might also be expected, the Russian government hastened to push the Trans-Siberian railroad to completion. One index of

its interest is the amount of money budgeted (Table 2). The budget for 1896, the first after the Sino-Japanese War, called for a 65% increase over that of 1895. Thereafter the budget began decreasing again as work on the line was finished.

By the end of 1896 the South Ussuri, the Cheliabinsk-Ob and the Ekaterinburg-Cheliabinsk sections were open to regular traffic. However most of the bridges on these lines had been built of wood and were being replaced. The major bridges over the Ob and Irtysh Rivers were not completed, and these rivers had to be crossed by sledges in the winter and ferries in the summer. The Ob-Krasnoiarsk section and the Tomsk branch were nearing completion; one-fourth of the rails had been laid on the Krasnoiarsk-Irkutsk section, two-thirds on the North Ussuri line, and preparatory work had begun in the Transbaikal.[23] However all was not going smoothly.

In the second month after the Cheliabinsk-Ob section opened there was a 3,000 car backlog of goods waiting in the stations of Siberia. The carrying capacity of the line was only about 3 1/2 pairs of trains in 24 hours, and the freight trains averaged only eight to nine miles per hour. Moreover the line had only 676 closed and 723 platform cars. It took seven days to travel the 881 miles between Cheliabinsk and the Ob River. The railroad was put to its first test in the winter of 1896-97 when so much grain was brought to the line for shipment that the administration

Table 2. Budget for Trans-Siberian Railroad, 1894-1903

Year	Construction	Auxiliary Enterprise
1894	35,502,801	1,384,875
1895	49,816,515	2,160,309
1896	82,248,170	2,485,410
1897	61,134,110	3,280,652
1898	37,447,020	3,718,363
1899	27,154,350	3,706,256
	84,770,660[a]	
1900	25,195,258	3,418,524
1901	7,277,209	3,078,131
1902	12,450,208	3,338,092
1903	20,921,023	3,418,340
	443,917,324	29,988,952

[a]Supplementary appropriation.

Sources: Statesman's Yearbook, 1895, p. 875; 1901, p. 979; Russia, Ministry of Finance, Rapport du Ministre des Finances A S.M. L'Empereur (St. Petersburg, 1896), p. 45; The Times, Jan. 21, 1898; Jan. 15, 1902; Jan. 14, 1903.

had neither the warehouses to store it, nor the tarpaulins to cover it. The grain remained waiting at the stations three to four months since no more than 50 cars a day could cross from the Cheliabinsk to the Samara railroad, and the Siberian line was sending 100 to 120 cars daily.[24]

The government had been warned such a situation was bound to occur. An inspection of May 1895 had found that demand was already exceeding capacity.[25] After the disastrous predicament of the winter of 1896-97, Prince M. I. Khilkov, Minister of Ways of Communication, made his own inspection. In his finding which reached the Emperor in February 1898, he recommended the construction of 58 new sidings, the addition of 462 locomotives and 11,900 cars, replacement of the 18 lb. rails with heavier ones, increasing the weight of the ballast, widening of the railroad, replacement of wooden bridges by stone and steel ones, etc. The work was to be carried out over periods ranging from three to ten years and would cost 95 million rubles.[26] Khilkov's recommendations received added force when the stations of the railroad were again flooded with grain during the winter of 1897-98. This time over 80,000 tons had to be stored along the West Siberian line, and the expected transit time was 3 1/2 months. All this meant losses for both shippers and the railroad which had to provide temporary warehouses for storage and pay for the loan of expensive rolling stock.[27]

By the spring of 1898 the entire West Siberian section was complete, and although the Ob-Krasnoiarsk line was open to regular traffic it was not quite ready. The Krasnoiarsk-Irkutsk section was not expected to be ready before the end of August, and then only in very rough fashion. It did not open to regular traffic until January 1899. There were still no bridges over the Enisei or Ob rivers. In the Transbaikal 62% of the earthworks had been completed, and rails to build as far as Sretensk had been stockpiled.[28]

The South Ussuri line opened for regular traffic in February 1896, and the Cheliabinsk-Ob and Ekaterinburg-Cheliabinsk sections in October of that same year. These were followed by the Ob-Krasnoiarsk section and the Tomsk branch in January 1898. The Krasnoiarsk-Irkutsk section opened in January 1899, the Transbaikal in January 1900, the branch from Irkutsk to Lake Baikal in July 1900, and the Circumbaikal line in September 1904.

So important and costly were Prince Khilkov's recommendations that another inspection was made. It was the report by the engineer K. Ia. Mikhailovskii that accounted for the special 84,770,660 ruble appropriation by the Sol'skii Commission in 1899. Mikhailovskii's conclusions were not so different from those of Prince Khilkov. He called for the construction of new sidings, an increase in supervisory personnel, an increase in

rolling stock, more money for matters not directly concerned with the railroad, such as warehouses, platforms, ports on the Irtysh, Ob and Enisei rivers, the laying of heavier rails, strengthening the ballast, etc. He estimated the improvements would cost a grand total of 91,316,791 rubles.

The Sol'skii Commission made the final decision on how to allocate the funds. Some of its more important conclusions were (1) on the Cheliabinsk-Petropavlovsk section: to increase the number of trains from five in 1899 to eight and then 14 during the next five years; (2) on the Petropavlovsk-Ob section, from four pairs of trains in 1899 to six and then to 10 during the next five years; (3) on the Ob-Irkutsk section: from 3 1/2 pairs to five and then to eight over the next five years; (4) on the section from the Transbaikal line to the Chinese frontier: to build for seven pairs and more; (5) to increase the speed from 13 to 23 miles per hour for passenger trains and from 8 to 13-14 miles per hour for freight trains; (6) to replace all wooden bridges with stone ones over a six year period; and (7) to change all 18 lb. rails to 24 lb. ones over an eight year period.[29]

Improvement could come none too soon. The winter of 1898-99 saw another backlog of 7,000 carloads. While there was a surplus of 355,000 tons of wheat in the Altai district of Siberia, people in central Russia were suffering from famine.[30]

The Problem of Korea

The spring of 1896 was a diplomatically active one for Russia, Japan, China and Korea. In St. Petersburg the Russian government was conducting three sets of negotiations simultaneously: with China for a railroad across Manchuria; with Japan in an attempt to stabilize Korea; and with the Koreans who wanted a loan, instructors and other guarantees.

The Japanese government had decided in early June 1895 that its future policy in Korea would have to be one of "hands off."[31] Already in April Yamagata had proposed an agreement with Russia since Japan could not maintain her supremacy in the Far East independently.[32] He was seconded by Inoue Kaoru, Minister to Korea. Inoue admitted the possibility of Russia's waiting until the Trans-Siberian railroad was completed and then annexing Korea. To forestall such an occurrence he favored a secret agreement with Russia.[33] Hayashi Tadasu, the Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs, made it clear to Lowther, the British Minister, that while Russia would probably expect some compensation from China for her aid, her real ambition "naturally lay rather in the direction of Corea where she required an outlet."[34]

From St. Petersburg Nishi warned that should Korea's independence be hopeless Russia would not be content with the acquisition of only Wŏnsan or some province. She would attempt

to place the whole country under her protection, and then a collision with Russia would become inevitable. To counter this Russian threat Nishi suggested three alternatives: (1) an alliance with China, one of the things Russia feared most. However he held out little hope for its realization; (2) a division of Korea between Japan and Russia. Since Russia wanted all of Korea and would take advantage of this, it should be the last choice; (3) an international agreement to ensure Korea's independence with Great Britain, Japan, the United States, Germany, Russia, and China taking part. Nishi preferred this alternative.[35]

After being instructed by Saionji to sound the British government on the possibility of direct talks between Japan and Russia on the Korean question, Katō Takaaki reported back that he sensed a British dislike of Russia's southern advance and that Great Britain would be glad to see Japan's military strength increased. Katō inferred from this that Great Britain would not object to Japan's including Korea within her sphere of influence. On the contrary, she would welcome it secretly. However Salisbury, the Foreign Secretary, had said he could see no advantage in Japan's coming to an understanding with Russia. Katō also remained doubtful about a Russo-Japanese understanding and advocated making Great Britain a part of any agreement. When he approached Salisbury unofficially and asked whether Great Britain would join Japan and Russia in guaranteeing the

independence and integrity of Korea, Salisbury replied that he could not answer definitely, but if Russia agreed, Great Britain would be glad to join.[36] The opportunity was lost however when neither country followed it up. In May 1896 when Great Britain herself suggested a joint guarantee by the powers of Korean independence Japan was already negotiating with Russia.[37]

Hitrovo, the Russian Minister, first suggested an exchange of opinions between Russia and Japan on the Korean question in a conversation with Saionji on July 11, 1895, and he brought it up again on the 31st, but Saionji did not respond.[38] However that did not mean the Japanese government did not recognize the seriousness of the matter. Itō Hirobumi, the Prime Minister, made several attempts to resign in order to make a trip to Europe to work to restore strained Russo-Japanese relations, but each time his resignation was refused.[39]

In October the Korean Queen was murdered and the Japanese were implicated. Two months later Japan began to move toward negotiations with Russia. When the Korean king escaped to the Russian Legation in February 1896 matters became more urgent for Japan. At that time both governments decided to negotiate. In Seoul Komura Jutarō and Karl Ivanovich Veber (usually Weber or Weaber) worked out a modus vivendi for the main negotiations which were to be held in Moscow in May. At these talks, Yamagata Aritomo was the Japanese delegate, and

Lobanov handled the negotiations for the Russian side. Briefly the Protocol reached between them provided for Russian and Japanese aid to Korea; left it to Korea to organize its own military and police forces; let Japan keep her telegraph lines and Russia build a new one; and provided that the two representatives in Seoul could work out any problems. The two secret articles declared that in case Russia and Japan had to send troops to Korea, a neutral zone would be left between them, and that the Komura-Veber Agreement would obtain until Korean troops could be organized and trained under Article 2 of the public protocol.[40]

Nishi, who had assisted Yamagata in the negotiations, was not satisfied with the Protocol and didn't think much good would come from it. He believed Russia was going to advance in Korea with or without Japan. However there would be no division of Korea now, nor would Russia be able to train or pay an effective bodyguard for the Korean monarch. He felt Japan should go slow in making concessions and use the time to expand her fleet.[41]

While Russia was negotiating with Japan to stabilize the situation in Korea, the Korean representatives in Moscow were asking for the very things that would undermine the agreements with Japan. They wanted Russian protection for the Korean King until a Korean army could be formed; Russian advisers and military instructors; a loan of ¥3 million; and a direct telegraph

link between Korea and Russia. The protection of the King, a loan, and the matter of advisers and instructors were all issues covered by the Moscow Protocol, and thus Russia was not free to act without Japan's approval. Lobanov was in a quandry. He did not want to lose the opportunity to strengthen Russian influence in Korea, but at the same time he did not want to antagonize Japan. Accordingly, the Russian answer to the Koreans was vaguely worded. It promised a "moral guarantee" by Russia of the safety of the King should he return to the palace. When the Korean envoy, unhappy with such vagueness, pressed Lobanov about the loan and instructors, Lobanov declined to give a definite answer.[42]

The final Russian position was contained in a note presented by Lobanov to the Korean envoy on July 2/14, 1896. It promised that the King could stay in the Russian Legation as long as he liked, and he would be protected by Russian guards. Regarding the question of instructors, a high ranking military officer would be sent to Seoul shortly, and he would negotiate with the Korean government on the subject. At the same time another person would be sent to study Korea's economic situation. A loan would be considered as soon as the needs had been ascertained, and Russia would aid in the laying of a telegraph line between the two countries.[43]

The Russian financial agent in Peking, D. D. Pokotilov,

arrived in Seoul in August to investigate financial conditions. He did not have the authority to conclude a loan and reported back that although financial conditions were primitive, Korea had enough money on hand to meet the payment on the Japanese loan. The only thing Pokotilov accomplished was to get a written pledge from the Korean Minister of Finance to accept a Russian loan.[44]

The promised military adviser, Colonel D. V. Putiata, arrived in Seoul on October 9/21 with two officers, ten non-commissioned officers and a doctor. About a month later he presented a plan for a Korean army with a strength of 40,000 men to be created in three years. Russian instructors would do the training. The Russian Minister in Korea, Veber, and the Minister of War, Vannovskii, both supported Putiata's plan. However the new Foreign Minister, Count Mikhail Nikolaevich Murav'ev, hesitated, pointing out that Japan would "dispute our right to the exclusive training of Korean troops." He wanted to put off the decision for a few months.[45]

In the spring of 1897 Russia became active again. The concession for the CER did not mention the direction of the line, and surveys showed two possible routes: one to the north via Tsitsihar and Hu-lan-ch'eng, and one to the south via Bodune, Kirin and Ninguta. At a board meeting of the CER on January 22/February 3, 1897 one of the members proposed that Russia should enter into negotiations with China for the right to build a

branch to one of the ports on the Yellow Sea. P. M. Romanov, a Chancellor of the Ministry of Finance, spoke against it, preferring to wait a while.[46] Instead he made a proposal to Witte for a railroad to a Korean port. Romanov realized that the Chinese would not be likely to grant Russia the right to build a railroad to the Liaotung peninsula since that would place Russian influence too close to Peking. However he did not think Peking would object to a line through Bodune and Kirin to some Korean port. Such a railroad would preclude a seizure of Korea by Japan. In order to gain enough influence in Korea to be able to carry out his scheme, Romanov suggested the establishment of a Russo-Korean Bank. The idea interested Witte, and he agreed to send a Russian financial adviser to Korea. However the man, K. A. Alekseev, did not reach Seoul until September 1897. In the meantime Prince E. E. Ukhtomskii, who was to go to Peking to negotiate for a definite route for the CER, was instructed to see if he could not obtain the more southerly route; to sound the attitude of the Chinese for the possible connection of the CER with the Chinese railroad at Chinchow; and to see whether or not China would agree to a branch from the CER to some Korean port. The Chinese refused on all points.[47]

Alekseev arrived in September and immediately busied himself. Soon he managed to convince the Korean government to dismiss MacLevy Brown, Superintendent of Customs, and name

himself as Brown's successor. When Witte heard this he quickly revived the Russo-Korean Bank scheme and took a renewed interest in Korea. Alekseev even began working on a plan for studying the port of Uiju as the "best point of egress to the sea."[48] These actions angered Yamagata who saw them as violations of his Moscow Protocol. After consulting with Nishi Tokujirō, Yamagata suggested Nishi succeed Ōkuma as Foreign Minister. Nishi had helped Yamagata during the negotiations in Moscow, and he knew the problem. Moreover, he also knew the new Russian Minister to Japan, Baron Roman Romanovich Rosen.[49]

The Turn to the South

However, Russian actions in Korea were soon overtaken by events elsewhere in the Far East. In Shantung two German missionaries were murdered, and on November 14 the German Emperor ordered the German squadron to occupy Kiaochow. The Russian government almost objected, but changed its mind and sent its ships to Port Arthur instead. They arrived there on the 16th. This presented Murav'ev with an opportunity to obtain something that had eluded Russian grasp for a long time: a port on the Yellow Sea.

On November 11/23, 1897 Murav'ev presented a note to Nicholas detailing his arguments on why it was time for Russia

to occupy Port Arthur. It would be Russia's compensation for allowing Germany into Kiaochow, but Murav'ev was also addressing himself to the question of where the final ice-free terminus of the Trans-Siberian railroad would be: Korea or the Liaotung peninsula. Murav'ev marshalled his arguments in favor of the latter. Although the Naval Ministry preferred to obtain a support point near Pusan in southern Korea, Japan was already firmly ensconced there, and Murav'ev believed any attempt by Russia to obtain land would not only be met with hostility, but could easily lead to a serious clash with Japan. Moreover it was so far from Russia's strategic base which would be served by the Trans-Siberian, it could never be a strong support base for Russia's Pacific squadron. On the other hand, the Liaotung peninsula offered four ice-free bays. Strategically, a port on the Liaotung could be kept open when Japan could easily close Pusan and bottle up the Russian squadron there. However, Russia would have to build a railroad branch from the CER to the south. Now was a good time to act because the Chinese government had asked for Russian protection after the German occupation of Kiaochow.[50] Nicholas found enough merit in the scheme to have it sent to a conference on November 14/26.

Only Witte, Murav'ev, Vannovskii and Admiral Pavel Petrovich Tyrtov, Acting Naval Minister (1896-1903) were present. Murav'ev and Vannovskii both felt Russia should not

lose the opportunity to occupy Port Arthur and Ta-lien-wan (Dalnyi and later Dairen) since such a chance might not come again for a long time. Witte, on the other hand, opposed Murav'ev. He believed it would be a mistake for Russia to demand territory of China when she had made Japan return that same territory in the name of the integrity of China. Such action might lead to the beginning of the partition of China. Certainly Japan would not be satisfied with her position in Korea. Construction of Port Arthur and the railroad to connect it with the CER would also entail large expenditures, something Russia could ill afford, and the line would have to pass through heavily populated areas of Manchuria, making it difficult to defend. If that were not enough it would also pass through Mukden, the birthplace of the Chinese Imperial House. While Witte recognized that it would be extremely desirable to have an ice-free port on the Pacific, he wanted to wait until the Trans-Siberian railroad was finished and then try to get one by peaceful means. Tyrtov expressed doubts about Port Arthur and said that if it was impossible to get a port on the southeastern coast of Korea, then in his opinion and that of the admirals, it would be better not to occupy Port Arthur, but use Vladivostok for two or three years, hoping for a chance to obtain a port in Korea in the future.[51]

Witte left the conference thinking the matter had been settled as he wanted. However on December 2/14 Murav'ev went back

to the Emperor with news that the occupation might make possible a Russo-German agreement that would create a German barrier to the British movement north, and the Emperor ordered the Russian fleet in to forestall English occupation.[52]

Right after the Russian occupation, Li Hung-chang asked Russia for a loan to cover the third payment on the indemnity due Japan. On December 4/16 Witte demanded as guarantee for the loan (1) a railway and industrial monopoly for Russia in all three provinces of Manchuria and Mongolia; (2) a branch from the CER to "that harbor which shall be selected for this purpose by the management of the road, on the coast of the Yellow Sea, east of the port of Yingkow; (3) the right to construct a port for all ships flying the Russian flag.[53]

The Chinese refused, rejecting particularly the idea of a Russian railway to the Yellow Sea. Li instead proposed to Witte that China build the branch to the mouth of the Yalu, but Witte refused.[54] New Russian demands were fashioned and approved by the Emperor in February. Once again Russia demanded the right to build a railroad "to the port of Ta-lien-wan, or to some other port on the coast of the Yellow Sea between Yingkow and the Yalu River, should the laying of a road to Ta-lien-wan present difficulties," and that Russia be given lease rights to the port comparable to those of Germany in Kiaochow.[55] China had little choice, and the Liaotung Convention was signed on

March 15/27, 1898. The contract between the CER Company and the Chinese government for the construction of the southern branch of the railroad followed on July 6.

Japanese policy remained cautious throughout the winter of 1897-98. Nishi directed Yano Fumio, Minister in Peking, to do his best to see that China accepted Germany's demands in the Kiaochow affair.[56] During December the cabinet discussed the Korean situation several times, and Nishi instructed Hayashi in St. Petersburg to submit a memorandum to the Russian government inviting careful reconsideration of the Russo-Korean agreement concerning the financial adviser since it was not consistent with the purport of the Yamagata Protocol.[57] When Rosen handed Nishi the Russian note explaining the occupation of Port Arthur, Nishi telegraphed Hayashi that the situation had "materially changed."[58] However a government crisis in Tokyo prevented determined action. The Matsukata cabinet resigned in early January, after dissolving the Diet.

Nishi discussed foreign policy and particularly the Korean situation with Itō and agreed to stay on in the new Itō cabinet which took office on January 12, 1898. Itō began cautiously. At the Imperial Conference of January 10 he stressed the fact that China's independence was endangered and that Japan should be very cautious about seeking new rights on the mainland.[59] Itō's policy was communicated to the Japanese representatives in

Europe by Nishi in a circular letter of February 18. The government recognized that Japan was weak and isolated. Should China be partitioned, what could Japan demand? Since Japan could not use her strength outside the country, her diplomacy would have to be prudent. Consequently until the attitude of the other powers became clear Japan should not form, or give the impression of forming, an intimate relationship with any other power. In short, Japan must maintain her freedom of action.[60]

As the Russian government came more and more to favor the Manchurian alternative for an ice-free port, Murav'ev approached Hayashi on January 7, 1898 on the possibility of a new Russo-Japanese agreement concerning Korea. Reporting it, Hayashi suggested that Japan try to get just as much as she could in Korea if Russia was using the agreement to further her own ends in Manchuria, but Japan should not obstruct Russia in the Liaotung peninsula.[61] Katō Masuo, Minister in Korea, reported he thought Russia was beginning to lose her influence in Korea and wanted to take advantage of Japanese friendship to form an alliance.[62] Kurino Shinichirō, Minister in Paris, who had been advocating a Russo-Japanese agreement since the previous December, added his voice to those proposing an agreement.[63]

Once again the problem revolved around the financial adviser and military instructors, and Murav'ev admitted that the appointment

of Alekseev had not been "quite in accordance with the understanding between the two governments."[64] Then after the Russian mission in Korea withdrew on March 8, Rosen proposed an agreement based on mutual recognition of Korean independence and no direct interference in the internal affairs of that country. At the same time he officially informed the Japanese government that Russia had decided to obtain a lease on Port Arthur.[65]

This news coupled with the belief that Great Britain was not prepared to assist China by resorting to arms, made Nishi propose what was later to become known as "Man-Kan kōkan" (exchange of Manchuria for Korea). Since it was obvious that Russia was going to be able to accomplish her aims in Manchuria without serious opposition, Nishi wanted to strengthen Japan's "position by throwing Russia back a safe distance from our frontiers and to conserve our actual interests. . . ."[66] The Russian government, however, while perfectly willing to accept Japanese recognition of Manchuria as outside her sphere of influence, was not willing to forego her own interest in Korea.[67]

As the agreement moved toward conclusion it called for recognition of Korean independence, consultation should Korea ask for advisers or instructors, and a Russian promise not to impede the development of Japanese commercial and industrial relations in Korea. The question of spheres of influence (Man-Kan kōkan) was dropped. Nishi told Rosen that Japan would

close her eyes to the Russian occupation of Port Arthur, that Japan had no ulterior designs and no intention of offering Russia opposition.[68]

By 1900 Russia had everything she had desired in Manchuria: a short-cut for her Trans-Siberian line, and an ice-free port connected to the CER by a branch line. In addition matters in Korea had been settled more or less to her satisfaction.

Although she had promised not to hinder Japanese commercial and industrial progress, she still had the informal division of spheres of influence based on the Yamagata-Lobanov Protocol.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Glinskii, pp. 30-32.

[2]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 233-235. Romanov, pp. 63-64.

[3]The Times, May 18, June 13, 1895. Asahi, June 11, 1895. For Kopytov's project see Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 93-94.

[4]The Times, June 17, 18, 1895.

[5]USDS. Russia. Peirce to Uhl, June 1, 1895.

[6]NGB, XXVIII/II, No. 860, British Charge to Saionji, June 17; No. 864, Katō to Saionji, June 18, 1895.

[7]Ibid., No. 1336, Nishi to Saionji, June 20, 1895.

[8]Romanov, p. 69. [9]Ibid., p. 63.

[10]NGB, XXIX, No. 558, Aoki to Saionji, March 5, 1896, Appendix 1. Futatsubashi to Hara, Oct. 5, 8; Nov. 12, 1895.

[11]Ibid., Nishi to Saionji, Oct. 30, 1895. XXVIII/II, No. 1169, Hayashi to Saionji, Nov. 4, 1895.

[12]Romanov, pp. 69-71. [13]Ibid., pp. 72-73.

[14]"First steps," 272-281. [15]"Pervye shagi," 91-102.

[16]Romanov, p. 78.

[17]Ibid., pp. 83-84. See Marcella Bounds, "The Sino-Russian Secret Treaty of 1896," Harvard University. Papers on China, No. 23 (1970), pp. 109-125, for the most up to date research on the treaty using Chinese sources, particularly the telegrams between Li Hung-chang and the government in Peking.

[18]Ibid.

[19]J. V. A. MacMurray, Treaties and Agreements with and Concerning China 1894-1919 (New York, 1921), I, 74-77.

[20]Ibid., 78-82. Romanov, p. 101.

[21]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 280-291. Romanov, pp. 115-126. Russia. Chinese Eastern Railroad. Kitaiskaia vostochnaia zheleznaia doroga. Istoricheskii ocherk (St. Petersburg, 1914), pp. 48-49 (Hereafter CER. I.O.).

[22]CER. I.O., pp. 72-73.

[23]The Times, Nov. 2, 1896. Consular Reports, LIV, No. 201 (June, 1897), 175-178. Great Britain. Foreign Office. Diplomatic and Consular Reports. Annual series, No. 1998. John Michell. St. Petersburg. Report for the Year 1896 (London, 1897), p. 16.

[24]M. N. Selikhov, "Sibir po vliianiem velikago rel'sovago puti (Ekonomicheskii ocherk)," Sibirskii torgovo-promyshlennyi i spravochnyi kalendar' na 1902 god (Tomsk, 1902), p. 43.

[25]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 150-152.

[26]Ibid., pp. 260-261. [27]Ibid., pp. 259-260.

[28]The Times, April 29, 1898. Consular Reports, LVII, No. 212 (May, 1898), 64-65.

[29]Sabler and Sosnovskii, pp. 262-267. Selikhov, p. 45. Consular Reports, LX, No. 226 (July, 1899), 449-450. "Shiberia tetsudō," pp. 322-323, Kawakami to Tsūshōkyoku chō, Jan. 1901. This is only part of a much longer survey of the Trans-Siberian, pp. 261-349.

[30]Consular Reports, LX, No. 226 (July, 1899), 450.

[31]Itō den, III, 247-248. NGB, XXVIII/I, No. 298, Mutsu to Itō, June 3, 1895.

[32]Yamagata den, III, 230-232, 483; letter to Mutsu, April 5.

[33]Inoue Kaoru kō denki hensankai, Segai Inoue kō den (Tokyo, 1935), V, 472-473, letter to Mutsu of April 24, 1895; 535, letter to Mutsu of May 3, 1895; 536-537, letter to Saionji of Aug. 9. 1895.

[34]FO 46/452, Lowther to Kimberley, May 5, 1895; same, May 9, 1895.

[35]NGB, XXVIII/II, No. 882, Nishi to Saionji, July 9; XXVIII/I, No. 351, Nishi to Saionji, Sept. 9, 1895.

[36]NGB, XXVIII/I, No. 352, Saionji to Katō, Sept. 17; No. 423, Katō to Saionji, Nov. 5; No. 469, same, Dec. 5, 1895. "Itō ke monjo," LXI, 10a-14b, Katō to Itō, Nov. 4, 1895.

[37]NGB, XXIX, Nos. 300-312, May 1-14, 1896.

[38]NGB, XXVIII/I, No. 333, conversation with Hitrovo, July 11; No. 347, same, July 31, 1895.

[39]Itō den, III, 256, 259-262.

[40]William W. Rockhill, Treaties and Conventions with or Concerning China or Korea, 1894-1904 (Washington, 1904), p. 432. The secret articles may be seen in NGB, XXIX, No. 487, Yamagata to Saionji, June 9, 1896.

[41]NGB, XXIX, No. 481, Nishi to Saionji, July 5; No. 482, same, July 8, 1896.

[42]V. P. Nikhamin, "Diplomatiia russkogo tsarizma v Koree posle iapono-kitaiskoi voiny," in G. Deborin, ed., Istoriia mezhdunarodnykh otnoshenii. Istorii zarubezhnykh stran (Moscow, 1957), pp. 160-163.

[43]Romanov, p. 106.

[44]Ibid., pp. 109-110, 112-113. Nikhamin, pp. 164, 168. NGB, XXIX, No. 323, Katō to Ōkuma, Dec. 21, 1896.

[45]Nikhamin, pp. 165-166, 169-170.

[46]Romanov, pp. 117-122. CER. I.O., pp. 49-50.

[47]Romanov, pp. 115-126. [48]Ibid., pp. 130-131.

[49]Sakamoto Shinnosuke, Shishaku Nishi Tokujirō den (Tokyo, 1933), pp. 209-210.

[50]"Pervye shagi," 102-108.

[51]Glinskii, pp. 44-46. Witte, Vospominaniia, II, 133-135. Romanov, pp. 136-138.

[52]G. Efimov, Vneshniaia politika Kitaia, 1894-1899 gg. (Moscow, 1958), p. 237.

[53]Romanov, pp. 140-141. [54]Ibid., pp. 141-143.

[55]Ibid., p. 146. Glinskii, pp. 53-54.

[56]NGB, XXX, No. 299, Nishi to Yano, Nov. 24; No. 349, same, Dec. 13, 1897.

[57]JFMA. Tel. 1897, reel 18, pp. 1413-1414, Nishi to Hayashi, Dec. 16, 1897.

[58]NGB, XXX, No. 241, Russian Minister to Nishi, Dec. 17; No. 255, Nishi to Hayashi, Dec. 28, 1897.

[59]Itō den, III, 328-329.

[60]NGB, XXXI/1, No. 338, circular letter, Feb. 18, 1898.

[61]Ibid., No. 99, Hayashi to Nishi, Jan. 7, 1898.

[62]Ibid., No. 105, Katō (Seoul) to Nishi, Jan. 21, 1898.

[63]NGB, XXX, No. 356, Kurino to Nishi, Dec. 14; No. 370, same, Dec. 20; No. 384, same, Dec. 29, 1897.

[64]NGB, XXXI/1, No. 111, Hayashi to Nishi, Jan. 29, 1898.

[65]JFMA. Tel. 1898, reel 21, pp. 1703-1705, Nishi to Hayashi, March 20, 1898.

[66]NGB, XXXI/1, No. 146, Nishi to Katō (London), March 22, 1898.

[67]Ibid., No. 150, Rosen to Nishi, March 29, 1898.

[68]Ibid., No. 162, Rosen to Nishi, April 16; No. 163, Nishi to Hayashi, April 16, 1898.

CHAPTER IV. JAPAN MOVES TOWARD THE CONTINENT

The Sino-Japanese War had wide repercussions in the Far East. By upsetting the old balance of power, by showing China to be weaker than had been thought and by revealing the degree of Japanese success in modernization, it opened the way for more direct involvement by the European powers in Far Eastern affairs. Russia had intervened on China's behalf because she had feared for her own interests and had had no desire to see China partitioned before her Siberian railroad was ready. France had joined Russia in hopes of obtaining advantages in the south, and Germany had followed to encourage Russia's interest in Far Eastern affairs. The war also forced Great Britain to re-appraise its policy. Salisbury shifted away from China to a more pro-Japanese stance and at the same time began to encourage both France and Russia in the Far East.[1]

Japan emerged from the war a full-fledged imperialist. She obtained a wider sphere of influence in Korea, territory (Taiwan and the Pescadores), and she became a treaty power in China. Yet both during and after the war the Japanese public and officials continued to debate the significance of the Russian railroad and its final objective. Behind this debate there also ran an undercurrent of intelligence work, both by the government proper

and by the civilian activists. In the light of her new role as a power and the changed balance of power in the Far East, Japan began to increase her army and navy for her own defense and to protect her newly acquired territories. At the same time she began to try to obtain railroad concessions in Korea.

Debate on Russian Intentions

As early as August 1894 Nishi Tokujirō, the Japanese Minister in St. Petersburg, reported that he had detected a Russian desire to occupy Wŏnsan, as the Japanese referred to Port Lazarev.[2] This was followed in November by a report that the Russian navy was looking for an ice-free port, particularly Wŏnsan.[3] On Christmas Day he telegraphed that a special council had decided Russia's principal task lay in extending her possessions to the eastern coast of Korea to secure an ice-free port there.[4]

Given these circumstances the Japanese Minister in Korea, Inoue Kaoru, was not hesitant in using the threat of the Russian railroad to achieve the internal reforms he had been urging the Korean king to make. These reforms were an important part of the Japanese plan to bring Korea into the 19th century and make her responsible for her own independence. In his audience with the Taewŏngun on October 28, Inoue warned that matters were becoming more urgent by the day. Korea must reform herself.

The railroad Russia was building across Asia would be completed in seven or eight years, and since Vladivostok was frozen during the winter, Russia would naturally seek an ice-free port. The victim would be Korea which had many fine ports. To survive such a predatory world Korea would have to reform herself.[5]

Of the party politicians, Ōkuma Shigenobu of the Kaishintō, was perhaps the most aware of the changes the Trans-Siberian would bring, and he adjusted the demands his party wanted to make on China accordingly. In addition to large scale seizures of Chinese territory and a huge indemnity, he wanted to build a railroad in Korea from Pusan through Seoul to Uiju, on the Yalu River, and another from Pusan along the east coast to Wŏnsan and on to the Russian frontier. Then on the day the Trans-Siberian was completed, there would be a route using the Korean and Japanese railroads all the way to Tokyo.[6]

The debate continued after the war. The optimists did not see the Trans-Siberian so much a threat as an opportunity. Koezuka Ryū doubted the Russian army or navy would ever be very effective in the Far East with or without the railroad.[7] The Nippon compared the railroad to the Suez Canal. It could never be either wholly military or commercial, but to make it pay Russia would have to throw it open to the world.[8] Kōmuchi Tomotsune, the man who had lobbied to get Miyazu opened to trade,

also minimized the military uses of the line. He hoped the railroad would draw Russia and Japan together through trade. Siberia would be opened to Japanese goods and laborers, and Japan would provide a market for Siberian exports.[9] Taiyō editorialized that it would be difficult for Russia to support more than 150,000 troops in the Far East, and Japan should use the Trans-Siberian to improve her competitive position in Europe.[10]

None of these men was arguing the route of the line, only its final impact, but soon word began to reach Japan that Russia was planning to lay the railroad across Manchuria. Futatsubashi Ken, the Commercial Agent in Vladivostok, made a series of reports concerning Russian surveyors in Manchuria during November.[11] This activity was also picked up by Ueno Iwatarō, the usually well-informed correspondent of the Asahi. In December he wrote that it was no longer just a rumor about a Manchurian railroad. It was a fact. Russia planned to abandon the Amur line and build from Nikol'sk via Tsitsihar to a point on the Russian frontier. Such a railroad would shorten the distance about 530 miles. He thought that China would lease the territory north of the railroad to Russia and also foresaw the possibility of a branch from Tsitsihar through Kirin to the Liaotung peninsula. The Russian government had secretly sent two groups to survey the line, and one had returned already.[12]

In January 1896 Nishi wrote Mutsu from St. Petersburg that

Russia was aiming at the Liaotung peninsula, and he suggested that Japan approach Great Britain about an Anglo-Japanese alliance as a means of forcing Russia to reconsider. Should Great Britain not respond, then Japan should be ready, militarily, within three to four years because the Trans-Siberian railroad would reach Irkutsk in 1898 and that would greatly facilitate Russia's ability to transport troops and war material.[13] Nishi's opinion was seconded by Akiyama Masanosuke who also worked in the Legation in St. Petersburg. Akiyama noted the Trans-Siberian would be finished in less than five years and urged that Japan use that period to increase her armed forces, particularly the navy, while being careful not to let hostilities break out between herself and Russia.[14]

Pondering the situation from Tokyo, Mutsu had no doubt that Russia wanted to build railroads across Manchuria to Vladivostok and south to the Liaotung peninsula. Why else would she be increasing her fleet and troops in the Far East and hastening work on the Trans-Siberian? Yet he saw there was little Japan could do. A Russo-Japanese war must be ruled out, even if Russia tried to extend the railroad to Port Arthur or place Korea under a protectorate. Japan was still recovering from the war with China, and the Imperial Conference of April 24, 1895 had decided Japan must not make any more enemies. That left only one course: Japan must tend to her defenses and

resist diplomatically.[15]

When Nishi heard that Li Hung-chang was coming to Moscow for Nicholas' coronation, he realized that a railroad across Manchuria would probably be discussed. While Russia really wanted to build to the Liaotung, he did not think Li would negotiate that.[16] The Asahi agreed that Russia would have difficulty getting China's permission to build across Manchuria since China was under British influence,[17] but the news from Vladivostok must have been discouraging. In April 1896 Futatsubashi reported that Russia was moving toward a railroad across Manchuria with a branch to the south.[18] By August the Asahi had become more pessimistic. At that time there seemed to be a general consensus that Russia would move south to the Liaotung rather than into Korea, and various railroad schemes had been suggested. One called for a line from Chita to Tsitsihar and then either to Vladivostok (928 miles) or to the Liaotung (928 miles).[19]

By 1899, even after the occupation of the Liaotung by Russia and a concession to build a branch from the Chinese Eastern Railroad to the peninsula had been obtained, the debate in Japan over the Russian railroad was no nearer resolution. In that year Satō Kō published a small book on the Siberian railroad. In it he summed up the feeling in Japan toward Russia and the railroad. Three groups existed: the Russophobes, the warhawks (there may have been some overlap), and the peace faction.

The first group believed that Russia would surely use the Trans-Siberian to attack Japan. As examples of Russia's aggressiveness they pointed to the seizure of Sakhalin, the encroachment on Ezo (Hokkaidō), and the occupation of Tsushima. Russia had even forced Japan out of the Liaotung. Now Russia had the lease on that same territory, and when she finally achieved dominance over Manchuria, as she surely would, and attempted to move into Korea, a Russo-Japanese clash would become unavoidable. Certainly Russia understood the significance of the ten-year plan for the expansion of the Japanese army and navy. For what other reason would she be pushing the construction of the railroad day and night through the intense Siberian winter? Why else was she stationing so many troops in Manchuria and the Maritime Province? Rumors were afloat that Russia was strengthening the defense of Port Arthur and that the Volunteer Fleet was bringing a large complement of troops and military supplies. The only thing missing was a means of transporting supplies. When the Trans-Siberian was completed that defect would be remedied. Thus the Trans-Siberian was a tool to destroy Japan. These men appeared to offer Japan no positive policy to combat the Russian threat.

Satō replied to this argument by comparing the Trans-Siberian to the Suez Canal. When the canal was built many Englishmen had seen it as a threat to India, but as all nations

had begun to use it, particularly for commerce, this view changed. The same thing would happen to the Trans-Siberian. Russia would need money to operate it, and the only way to obtain large sums of money was to carry commerce between east and west. Thus the railroad would become a world trade route, not just a Russian one.[20]

The second argument, by those advocating war with Russia, assumed a worsening of relations between the two countries. Japan was in the midst of a ten-year army and navy expansion, and everyone knew Russia was Japan's mortal enemy. Russia was showing her belligerence by increasing her Far Eastern fleet, by fortifying Port Arthur and Vladivostok, and by hastening construction of the Trans-Siberian. Russia brandished the sword; waited for an opportunity, and advanced a step at a time. These men felt that a war with Russia was the only way to clarify Russo-Japanese relations.

Satō countered by asking how Japan could be sure of winning. Even if Russia was driven from the Far East, she would still remain strong and prepare for a war of revenge. Even Genghis Khan had not reached St. Petersburg. Japan should recall the lessons of the Sino-Japanese War. Satō believed that there were many ways other than war.[21]

Finally there was the peace faction, Satō's group. These people wanted to use the Trans-Siberian to develop trade

and commerce. After all wasn't Japan's 100-year plan to strengthen her independence and self-defense to enable her to become the protector of peace in the Orient? To achieve these ends, Satō proposed connecting a railroad through Korea with the Trans-Siberian, thereby putting Japan in the center of a world trade route. Peaceful competition was always better than war.[22]

Tani Kanjō seconded Satō, noting that the army and navy were calling for ever larger increases in Japanese spending by pointing to the Trans-Siberian railroad and saying that when it was completed Russia would send tens of thousands of troops to the Far East. Tani doubted this would be the case. The line was only single-tracked and would not be able to carry so many troops and their supplies, not to mention the needs of the local population, without breaking down. Moreover the line could be easily cut in time of war. He saw the railroad as a commercial opportunity for Japan. Even now Russia was importing food to feed the local population. As the population grew, so would food imports. Much of this food could come from Japan. Tani hoped the increase in Russo-Japanese trade would also bring about the development of ports and industry along the Japan Sea coast.[23]

Soga Sukenori, a member of the House of Peers, also minimized the dangers of the Trans-Siberian. While the line remained uncompleted it was still difficult to predict its military

effectiveness, however Soga was sure that the width of the gauge had little to do with the numbers of troops that could be moved. Japan had moved troops over her narrow gauge lines during the Sino-Japanese War faster than Germany had over her wide gauge lines in the Franco-Prussian War. Why? Because Germany had used slow freight locomotives to pull the troop trains, where Japan had used faster passenger locomotives. Still other difficulties remained. Lake Baikal had to be crossed or circumvented. The road had been built with light rails, and even if 100,000 soldiers were stationed in the Far East, how could they be fed?[24]

Ōishi Masami wanted to cure Japan's Russophobia by using the Trans-Siberian as a weapon in Japan's hands. In this respect he agreed with Satō. His main concern was to see that a connecting link was built in Korea.[25] Inagaki Manjirō also wanted to use the Trans-Siberian commercially, but at the same time he saw it as a means of advancing the cultural level of Siberia and the Far East.[26]

Thus not everyone would agree with the Japan Weekly Mail when it wrote on December 30, 1899: "There is no tolerance of the idea that, did Japan consult her own interests, she would fight Russia before the Siberian railway becomes a means of pouring Muscovite troops into Far-Eastern Asia. The railway, so far from being regarded with apprehension as an instrument

of warfare, is counted as a peace-making factor, which will tend chiefly to promote trade, and to foster those material influences that make for international good-will."

Spies and Adventurers in Siberia

Among those who most assuredly did not believe such a statement was Uchida Ryōhei. Uchida and a group of like-minded men who later formed the nucleus of the Kokuryūkai watched the Russian advance with suspicion. Uchida had gone to Vladivostok in 1895 for a short period, and he returned in January 1896 for a longer stay. To make a living he opened a judō hall, but his primary function was intelligence. He sent one of his men to investigate the area along the Korean-Chinese frontier. The man drew a map and collected materials, but before he could finish his report, he died from the frost-bite he had contracted.[27] Uchida decided to take up the unfinished work, but changed his mind and travelled through Siberia to St. Petersburg.

On his trip in 1897-98, he met two other adventurers, Nakano Jirō and Ken Fumio of the Sapporo language school. They travelled part way together inspecting the Russian towns along the Amur River. Uchida stayed in Irkutsk for a while awaiting money to continue his trip. When he finally reached St. Petersburg in February 1898, he met several people in the Japanese Legation and even talked with Hayashi Tadasu, the Minister.

Returning across Siberia with a Japanese army officer, Uchida left the man in Sretensk to travel to Nerchinsk and inspect work on the CER. After the short side trip he retraced his route to Sretensk and continued on down the Amur to Khabarovsk.

From this trip, Uchida drew several conclusions. He felt that although Russian officials were trying to divert their peoples' sttention to foreign affairs to distract them from internal problems, Russia was moving into Manchuria by force of circumstances, and therefore diplomatic agreements would never settle the problem. Moreover since Russia could not field as many men in the Far East as Japan could, Japan should seize the initiative and attack Russia first. If Japan could deliver a knockout blow with a first attack, Uchida felt anti-war feeling in Russia would rise up and force the government out of the war.[28] However when Uchida tried to persuade men to his cause, few would listen. Even Konoe Atsumarō, well-known for his anti-Russian feeling, would not believe a Russo-Japanese war was necessary.[29]

Uchida went to Vladivostok a third time in the summer of 1899 and took several men along that had studied at the language school in Sapporo. They planned to establish a place in Vladivostok to study Russian policy. However Sun Yat-sen telegraphed him to return and help plan a rising in South China, and Uchida abandoned his plans for Vladivostok and went back to Tokyo.[30]

Nakano Jirō sent several men to Blagoveshchensk in May or June 1898 to open a photo studio. Uchida met them in Khabarovsk as he was returning from his trip to St. Petersburg. These men were all graduates of the Sapporo language school and were going to continue their study of Russian and collect intelligence on the area around Blagoveshchensk.[31]

The adventurers were not the only ones active in Siberia. The Japanese army also had men there. The former Vice-Chief of the General Staff, Kawakami Soroku, was one of those who felt that after the Triple Intervention, Japan must prepare for a war with Russia. Consequently in the fall of 1896 and the spring of 1897, he toured China and Siberia. At the same time he sent out a constant stream of officers to investigate conditions in both places.

One of those was Captain Hanada Chūnosuke. Hanada was sent to Vladivostok disguised as a priest of the Honganji. As such he and a secretary visited Pos'et, Nikol'sk, Khabarovsk, Nikolaevsk, Chita, Verkhneudinsk, Irkutsk and the Mongol areas of Siberia collecting information. Hanada remained in Vladivostok for almost three years.[32]

After the Triple Intervention another man, Ishimitsu Makiyo, decided that he wanted to study Russian. At that time few men in the army were interested in Russia. Ishimitsu enrolled in Shōji's and Konishi's school, and when it closed he continued to

study at Konishi's house. In 1899 he decided to go to Vladivostok to study. Tamura Iyozō, Vice-Chief of the General Staff, agreed and allowed Ishimitsu to work on the General Staff for a while to familiarize himself with the work that had already been done on Russia. At this time Ishimitsu claimed Colonel Murata Jun, Military attache in St. Petersburg, 1899-1902, Major Tanaka Giichi, a future Prime Minister, Major Hagino Suekichi, Major Hanada, and Captain Machida Keiu were the only ones studying Russia. In August 1899 Ishimitsu left Kobe with Tamura, Machida, and Fukuhara Tetsutarō for Vladivostok. After a short period there he went on to Blagoveshchensk where he lived with a Russian family and studied Russian. He was there during the massacre of Chinese in 1900, and later returned to Vladivostok.[33]

While in Vladivostok Tamura Iyozō himself engaged in a bit of spying. He, Uchida Ryōhei, and Futatsubashi Ken, the Commercial Agent, disguised themselves as fishermen and rowed out to look at the Russian fortifications from the seaside. Then they dressed as hunters and got as close as they could from the landside.[34]

All the Japanese activity did not go unnoticed by the Russians. In February 1896 Japanese were forbidden in the vicinity of the fortress in Vladivostok. Nor were they permitted to climb the hills. There were guards to prevent such actions, and those who got too near were arrested.[35] In January 1897 some

Japanese returned from Siberia with a story of a midnight search of their room by the Russian police. The men were merchants, and the police in Khabarovsk broke into their room about two in the morning and searched the place. The merchants advised all travellers to carry their visas because those without them were being arrested pending verification of their identity by the Japanese Commercial Agent in Vladivostok. They also advised against carrying maps since such items would only arouse the suspicion of the police.[36]

Military Expansion

The Japanese army and navy officials fully understood what the completion of the Trans-Siberian would mean for Japan. In his memorial of April 15, 1895, Yamagata Aritomo the Army Minister, pointed out that Japan would have new territories to defend and that China would certainly prepare for a war of revenge. Moreover Russia, France and Great Britain would begin to increase their strength in the Far East. Russia would be a particular problem because of the Trans-Siberian. Consequently Japan had no choice but to increase her armed forces, or to put it in his earlier imagery, Yamagata thought the line of advantage should be expanded to defend better the line of sovereignty.[37]

The navy was acutely aware of its weakness. In May 1895

the Naval Minister, Saigo Tsugumichi, ordered Yamamoto Gonnohyoe, a future Minister and Prime Minister, to make a study of past performance and future needs. Yamamoto found that the Japanese ships were not protected well enough. They needed armored or steel hulls. Moreover since the powers had shown themselves willing to meddle in the Far East, Japan had to have a fleet large enough to defeat one or two of them. Also needed were more shore facilities and better trained men and officers.[38]

Yamamoto's conclusions were incorporated into a ten-year plan presented to the cabinet in July 1895. Since the total cost would come to about ¥200,000,000, Saigo proposed instead two plans to run a total of ten years.[39] The army, in its turn, wanted a six division increase. However before there could be any increase in defense spending, some accommodation had to be reached with the parties in the Diet. Without their consent, expenditures could only be continued at the previous year's level.

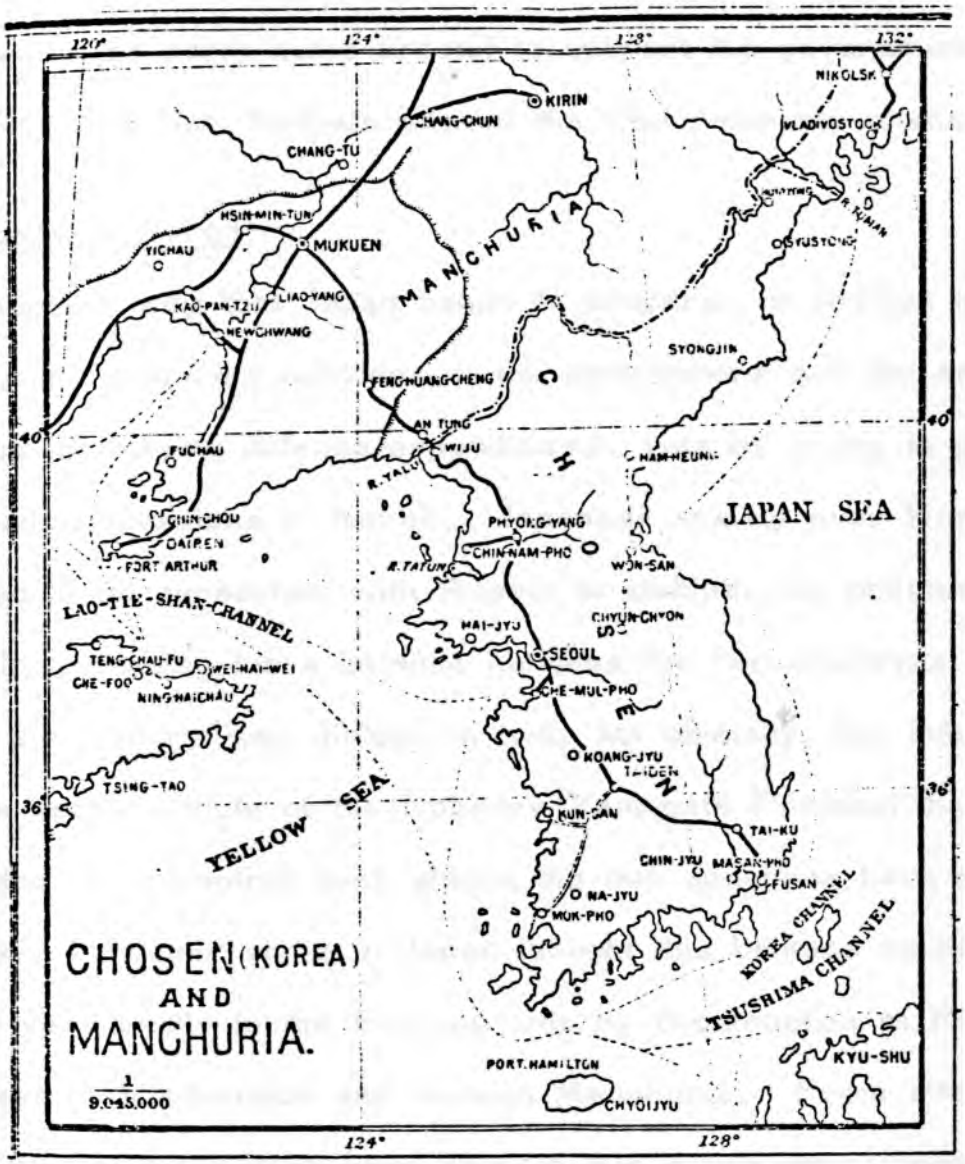
Matsukata Masayoshi, Minister of Finance, laid out a plan for Japan's post-war development. In it he noted the necessity for Japan to increase her armaments. She had to be able to defend Korea's independence and to protect her new territories. The Europeans had already revised their stance toward Japan, and there was now a three-power alliance to contend with. Since it appeared the European countries were going to build

larger battleships and that Russia would complete her Trans-Siberian railroad within five years, Japan could not neglect her own preparations. Matsukata agreed with the proposal for a 200,000 ton navy and an expanded army. He also believed the Japanese public could bear the necessary taxation to achieve that goal. During the Sino-Japanese War the Japanese had paid only ¥1.5 per capita in taxes, and he felt this could be increased to ¥2-2.5.[40]

The opposition was not slow in forming. The Asahi identified three groups: the conservatives, mostly former army officers in the House of Peers; those who opposed the increase on economic grounds; and those who were anti-government for any reason.[41] Men of the latter two categories filled the political parties. The Kaishintō and the Kakushintō objected to putting the army increase first. The Kaishintō felt the navy should have first priority and proposed adding two regiments to each of the existing army divisions rather than adding new divisions.[42] At the time Itō Hirobumi, the Prime Minister, and the leaders of the Jiyūtō were already talking about cooperation.

How such talks began and who started them is obscure, but the arguments that Kawakami Soroku, the Vice-Chief of the General Staff, used to convince Kōno Hironaka, a member of the Jiyūtō, are of interest. According to Kōno, as Kawakami explained it, Russia had become the hypothetical enemy.

Russia was hastening construction of the Trans-Siberian and concentrating large numbers of troops in Manchuria to seize that area. The Japanese General Staff calculated Russia's strength by referring to the carrying capacity of the Trans-Siberian. This is why a six division increase was necessary. When Kōno asked what would happen if Russia used the railroad to increase her army in the Far East until it surpassed that of Japan, Kawakami said that he would tell Kōno the truth. When the six division increase was completed there would be no hesitation about beginning a war with Russia. Korea would provide a convenient pretext. The army plan called for the six divisions to be ready in six years. However in the light of other countries' experiences, six and one half years would be a better estimate. Therefore Russia would not expect the preparations to be completed before seven years, since she would undoubtedly consider the Japanese incapable of the efficiency of a modern European army, and would make her own preparations accordingly. That would give Japan a one-year leeway. However, although the Japanese plan called for six years, Kawakami thought it could be completed in five years. Thus Japan would have a two-year jump on Russia, and she would not let the opportunity escape. When Kōno went to Itagaki Taisuke, the party leader, to persuade him, he declared that six divisions were the minimum acceptable; fewer would not suffice to protect Japan and wipe out the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Liaotung insult. Moreover Russia was already giving free play to her ambitions in the Far East and was going to use the Trans-Siberian to move a large military force to the Far East. Eventually the party came around to support the government and the army and navy budgets passed the Diet relatively unscathed.[43]

Railroads in Korea

Another way that Japan began to prepare, in addition to the intelligence gathering activities of the adventurers and the army and the increasing defense expenditures, was by trying to get railroad concessions in Korea. Japanese anxiety over Korea had led to an agreement with Russia to stabilize the political situation by providing for a balance between the two countries. In effect the country was divided in two, not officially, but informally by the secret article of the Lobanov-Yamagata Protocol that provided for a neutral zone should the two countries have to send troops. However some in Japan thought this balance could be tipped very easily to the Russian side by construction of Russian railways to Vladivostok and through Manchuria. From either of these points it would be very easy to run a line into Korea. To counter such a threat, Japan would have to have railroads of her own in Korea.

Japanese interest in a Seoul-Pusan railroad went back to 1892. In that year the Japanese consul in Pusan had made a

preliminary survey of a possible route and suggested a formal survey be made. In making this suggestion he approached Kawakami Soroku first and then his own minister. Both men agreed, and the survey was carried out between August and October of 1892. There the matter rested.[44]

As the situation began to look grim before the Sino-Japanese War, Mutsu Munemitsu, the Foreign Minister, sent Takeuchi Tsuna of the 58th Bank to Korea to see about conditions. Takeuchi returned and advised the construction of railroads between Seoul and Pusan and Inchon, both for defense and economic purposes.[45] The Japanese government accepted the suggestion and signed an agreement with the Korean government on August 20, 1894 giving Japan the right to build both railroads.[46] In October 1894 the Imperial Headquarters sent parties of surveyors to Korea. The results of their work showed it would cost about ¥2,000,000 to build both lines, but the war ended so quickly no action could be taken.[47]

In March 1895 Takeuchi, Ozaki Saburō and Ōmiwa Chōbei approached the Japanese government with plans to build a Seoul-Pusan railroad and establish a Korean central bank. However because of the complicated international situation, the Japanese government would not give its permission.[48]

Before the Russian, French and German notes of April 23, 1895, while the fruits of victory were still sweet, some Japanese

were planning for railroads in newly won Manchuria and Korea. The British Minister reported that Japan planned to have "extensive service completed" in Manchuria and Korea "long prior to the opening of the Russian Trans-Siberian Railway." This included a Korean trunk line (Pusan-Seoul-Uiju) and should Manchuria be ceded to Japan, a line from Chinchow to Port Arthur with branches to Newchwang and to the Russian main line.[49] Indeed, the Railway League in Tokyo suggested a plan to connect most of the important lines. Japan could lend money to Korea for a line from Pusan to Icho (Uiju?) and at the same time build from Chinchow to Newchwang and then north via Mukden to the Russian Trans-Siberian herself. Then China might be induced to build a railroad to connect the Japanese and Korean lines with Peking. The Japanese lines could be conveniently built with the indemnity extracted from China.[50] Even Yamagata, in a letter to Kawakami stated that if the treaty was ratified, the most important matter was to lay a railroad from Talien (Dairen, Dalnyi) to Chinchow, so that in the future it could be extended to China and on to India.[51] Of course the Triple Intervention dashed the Japanese hopes and raised the specter of Russian expansion into Korea.

The Kokkai believed Russia's object would be either Port Lazarev or Shestakov Bay on the eastern coast of Korea, and it thought that a Russian concession to extend the Trans-Siberian

to a port on the Yellow Sea "would constitute a manifest danger to the peace of the East."[52] However in October Inoue Kaoru, just back from Korea, told Sir Ernest Satow, the new British Minister, that "he doubted very much whether any attempt would be made in that direction [toward Port Lazarev]." Inoue believed a Russian railroad from Kiakhta to Port Arthur more likely.[53]

In the spring of 1896 it looked as though the race was on in Korea for railroad concessions. Japanese influence had been weakened in February when the King had fled to the Russian Legation. In March the American James R. Morse got permission, in violation of the August 20, 1894 Japanese-Korean agreement Japan claimed, to build a railroad from Inchon to Seoul.[54] Then in April Komura reported that a Frenchman, Antoine Grille, had asked for a concession to construct a railroad from Seoul to Wŏnsan. He felt this would lead to Russia's proposing a railroad from the Russian border to Wŏnsan, and he asked the government to hurry and propose a Seoul-Pusan railroad.[55] As it turned out, Grille, representing the Compagnie de Fives Lille, signed an agreement for a concession to build a railroad between Seoul and Uiju. Seeing this Saionji was alarmed enough to wire Hayashi Tadasu in Peking that a French citizen had been given permission to construct a railroad from Seoul to Uiju, "and it is probable that Russia may lay the Siberian railway through

Manchooria to connect with that line."[56] Later Saionji told Hara Takashi, the new Minister in Seoul, that he believed there was consultation between the Russian and French governments and that Russia planned to connect that railroad with her own Manchurian line.[57] In September 1896 Grille widened the scope of his plans and asked that he be given concessions for railroads between Seoul and Mokpŏ, Seoul and Wŏnsan, and Wonsan and the Russian frontier. However the Korean government turned him down.[58] Contrary to what the Japanese government may have believed, the Russians were not collaborating with the French, and the Russian Chargé did not support the French requests of September "in view of the exclusively political significance" of the lines, but the French may have obtained the Seoul-Uiju concession in hopes of selling it to Russia.[59]

In the face of French and American activity and Komura's advice to get busy on a Seoul-Pusan railroad, the Japanese government remained inactive, but private Japanese did not. Ōmiwa, Takeuchi and Ozaki decided to build the line and wanted the Japanese government's tacit permission and support. Thus on June 7, 1896 they met with Itō and Mutsu. At this meeting the three men told the government ministers they felt a railroad was necessary for the defense and economic advantage of both countries. Ōmiwa, who had just returned from Korea, pointed out that a concession for the Seoul-Pusan line was included in

the Grille proposal for the Seoul-Uiju concession.

Itō and Mutsu were not very enthusiastic about the Korean railroad. Japan's financial condition was such that even internal railroads were not attracting investors. Moreover the Japanese had no experience in foreign railroads and would hesitate before investing. As to Korea itself, the population was small, and little was produced, so there was some question as to how the promoters could make the line pay. Finally the international situation required careful consideration. All in all, it would be difficult for the Japanese government to give its consent. After the meeting ended, Mutsu called Takeuchi aside and told him he thought the railroad would fail and asked Takeuchi to reflect.

The following day, Takeuchi visited Itō again. At this meeting Takeuchi agreed that it would be difficult to establish a company, but if the government would give its permission he would gather sufficient investors from the financial world, and if the Korean government agreed, he would appeal to Japanese patriotism to gather more. If he could not get 100 investors, Takeuchi told Itō, he would withdraw his proposal. Takeuchi applied a little pressure by pointing out to Itō that if the government abandoned its already acquired right to build the railroad, the question of government responsibility would arise in both houses of the Diet. Itō said he would think about it. On the 12th Itō summoned Takeuchi and Ozaki and told them if they could get 100 investors, the

government would give its permission. The promoters went to work and by the end of June had 155 backers.[60]

In July the promoters held a meeting, adopted regulations and collected ¥150 from each member as foundation money. The founders also decided to petition the Japanese government concerning their application to the Korean government for the concession. They presented their petition to Saionji on July 8, 1896, and Saionji instructed Hara to begin negotiations. Hara did as instructed, but the Korean government, not wanting to give Japan the concession, adopted a series of delaying tactics. Ultimately the Korean government refused the Japanese request, and Hara suspected that the Russian Minister might be behind that refusal.[61]

If Japan had failed in her attempt to get a concession for the Seoul-Pusan line, in the spring of 1897 she did manage to obtain the Seoul-Inchon line from the American, Morse. When Morse found he could not raise the capital in the United States to build the railroad he began negotiations with the Japanese promoters of the Seoul-Pusan railroad for sale of the concession. By an agreement concluded in May 1897, the Japanese were to pay ¥2,500,000 for the right to the railroad. To do this the promoters obtained a large interest-free loan from the Japanese government. Ōkuma Shigenobu, the Foreign Minister, was the principal man in getting government support.[62]

With Russia moving rapidly in the Far East, observers as disparate as the Asahi and Horace Allen, the American Minister to Korea, felt it would only be a matter of time until Russia moved into Korea. The Asahi published two articles claiming that since both the CER and the Seoul-Uiju railroads were to be built in the wide Russian guage, there could be no doubt that they would be joined by a Russian branch of the CER via Feng-huang-ch'eng. Moreover the paper predicted that Vladivostok would be connected with Wŏnsan by a Russian railroad.[63] Allen pointed out that a Seoul-Uiju railroad "could not possibly pay unless it were to connect with lines in Manchuria." He added that the Russian Chargé, Aleksei Shpeier, had informed him "recently that the Manchurian lines would be built and gave me to understand that this Korean road would also be built to connect with them and that Russia would be interested in, if not the actual builder of it."[64]

It is small wonder then that in the spring of 1898 with the Russian influence temporarily withdrawn from Korea, Japan again became active in seeking the right to build a Seoul-Pusan line. The Japanese Minister, Katō Masuo (February 1897-May 1899), was sympathetic to Korea and worked constantly to restore the Korean government's confidence in Japan. His work was aided by the Korean King's return from the Russian Legation, and the moderate actions of the Korean officials.

Katō resumed negotiations for a contract to build the Seoul-Pusan railroad, and although the talks did not always proceed smoothly, he did manage to reach an agreement with the Korean government. One of the means he used was to tell the Koreans that Itō intended to visit Korea in August, and that they should show some sign of good faith for Itō's efforts to preserve Korean independence. The contract was signed on September 8, 1898. The Japanese were determined to build the railroad in the same gauge as the Seoul-Inchon line, and Katō claimed the Korean court agreed because it wanted to keep the gauge the same and to avoid a link with the Russian Manchurian railroad. Originally the Korean government had decreed that all railroads were to be built in the standard European gauge of four feet eight and one half inches (July 3, 1896), but Russian pressure forced the government to change to the Russian gauge (five feet) in October 1896. Then when the Japanese refused to build in the legal gauge, the Korean government went back to its original intention.[65]

With the agreement signed work could begin on the railroad, but the Japanese promoters were still not ready. In July 1899 Shibusawa Eiichi began sounding out government leaders' attitude toward the railroad. Although no definite commitments were made on the part of the government, the founders got together in early August to hear the reports of a survey made in the spring

by representatives of the Ministry of Communications and the General Staff. These men, Ozaki, Takeuchi, Inoue Kakugorō, and Maejima Hisoka, estimated that it would take ¥25 million to build the railroad. Of this they planned to raise ¥5 million in Japan and the other ¥20 million from foreign sources, with the government guaranteeing the foreign money and also 6% interest on the ¥5 million invested by the Japanese.[66]

Armed with these estimates the promoters visited various officials and tried to get their agreement. Itō, then out of the government, and Matsukata Masayoshi, the Finance Minister, both opposed the plan on financial grounds. Unable to obtain approval from all the genro (elder statesmen), Shibusawa went ahead and presented his petition to Yamagata, the Prime Minister, on November 17, 1899. In it Shibusawa noted that according to recent reports, Russia expected to have the CER open to Dalyni year after next. That being the case it was to be expected that Russia would acquire the French concession for a Seoul-Uiju railroad, and at the same time she would undoubtedly plan a Seoul-Pusan railroad. That made it very urgent for Japan's self-defense and for the development of her trade to build the Seoul-Pusan railroad first. However in order to do this, a government guarantee was necessary. Shibusawa then listed the guarantees he wanted from the government. The company, to be called the Seoul-Pusan Railroad Joint Stock Company, would be

capitalized at ¥25 million, with ¥5 million to be raised on the first subscription. Other conditions called for the company to be able to raise by loan 10 times the amount paid-in, but loans could not exceed ¥20 million. A second subscription could be begun before the first was finished. The government would guarantee 6% interest on the company's capital of ¥25 million, and the guarantee would run fifteen full years, beginning the month after the capital was paid in.[67] The government was in no hurry to answer, and the group had to borrow ¥50,000 from secret army funds to help get the surveys started.[68]

The year 1899 also brought Japan another opportunity. According to the French concession for the Seoul-Uiju railroad signed on July 3, 1896, work had to begin within three years and be completed within nine years, or the concession would become void. As the deadline approached it became obvious that the French company would have to do something. No work had been done on the railroad, not even the surveying, because the French had not been able to raise the capital. First the company turned to the Russian government in an attempt to negotiate a sale, but Russia was busy with her Manchurian railroad and showed no interest. That left Japan as the next most interested party.

A member of the French Legation in Seoul approached the Japanese Legation on May 28, 1899 with the desire to sell on three conditions: (1) work would be done by the French

company under Japanese direction; (2) the French company would supply the materials at 15% above the base price; (3) the French company would get 5% of the construction cost as a commission. With the aid of the Japanese Foreign Ministry, several Japanese companies began negotiations.[69]

Japanese public opinion of course favored purchase from the French. Two papers, the Yomiuri and the Jimmin, felt it would add 50% to the value of the Seoul-Pusan line, and when connected with the Chinese system would increase Japanese trade with China and put Japan in the center of an east-west trade route. Ōkuma Shigenobu even suggested that Japanese and Chinese capital might combine on the purchase. However the Japan Weekly Mail doubted the Seoul-Uiju route would prove profitable. To make it so would require a connection with the Chinese system, but that would mean cooperation with Russia. The paper did not see this as forthcoming since Russia desired to make Dalnyi the port for her railroad.[70] In an article on the Trans-Siberian railroad in the Tōyō keizai shimpō a writer urged that Japan take advantage of the Russian line by building a railroad from Pusan to Uiju and then inviting Russian traffic to use the port of Pusan. This would establish the Japanese position in Korea firmly enough to be a rampart against Russian troops in Manchuria.[71] Satō Kō also advocated the purchase of the Seoul-Uiju railroad. If Russia wanted to make both Vladivostok and Dalnyi termini for the

Trans-Siberian system, then Pusan was in the middle and access to all three of these ports from the United States was through Japanese waters.[72] In an afterword to Satō's book, the very anti-Russian Ōishi Masami proposed using the Trans-Siberian railroad by buying the Seoul-Uiju line and connecting it to the Chinese Eastern Railroad. Such a step would (1) be a guarantee against Russian designs on Korea; (2) be a weapon against Russia's trade protectionism; (3) serve as a path for introducing Japanese enlightenment directly into Korea and China; (4) become a great road from Peking to China's central plain when the Gulf of Chihli was frozen; (5) be a means to ship Japanese spun fibers to North China; (6) be a tool to draw passengers and freight from Europe to Japan via the Trans-Siberian; and (7) might draw the United States, Great Britain and Japan into an alliance to maintain the status quo in Korea and China.[73]

The Japanese never managed to reach an agreement with the French, and the latter allowed the concession to lapse, not however without conditions. The French gained agreement from the Korean government that should the railroad be constructed by the Koreans themselves, they would use French materials and engineers. In early July some Koreans did establish the Great Korean Railroad Company and applied for the concession. It was granted on July 8 on the condition that the concession could not

be sold to foreigners, construction must begin within five years and the whole line must be opened within fifteen years. Japan realized that Korea did not have the money to build the railroad and worried lest it be mortgaged to foreigners. Consequently on August 6, the Japanese Minister, Hayashi Gonsuke, warned the Korean Foreign Minister that Korea should not mortgage the line to foreign capital without Japanese permission.[74]

During August 1899 the demand for another railroad concession became known. France had attempted to obtain a concession to build a Seoul-Wŏnsan railroad back in 1896, but the Korean government had refused. Thereafter, German, American and Russian interests frequently renewed the request, but Japan remained uninterested until June 1899. When the acting Chargé, Hioki Eki, asked that a group of Japanese be given the concession, the Korean government refused, and the Foreign Minister said Korea would build the line herself. A concession was given to a Korean company on June 17.[75]

However at the end of August Hayashi Gonsuke reported from Seoul that he had heard the German Consul had requested a concession for a railroad between Seoul and P'yŏngyang and P'yŏngyang and Wŏnsan.[76] As it turned out the German request had been for a concession to build a railroad between Chinnampo, P'yŏngyang and Wŏnsan, and to have the privilege of providing capital for a Seoul-Wŏnsan railroad. Hayashi immediately

warned the Korean government should it grant any foreign country any railroad concession Japan would be compelled to request a similar concession.[77] This stiffened the Korean government, and a bureau was established to construct the Seoul-Uiju and Seoul-Wŏnsan lines. Finally on December 19, 1899 the German request was publicly refused.[78]

Early 1900 brought rumors of French activity concerning the Seoul-Uiju railroad. The Yunnan Syndicate, nominally British but really French, offered Korea a loan, and reports circulated that this was done in expectation of a concession to build the railroad that the French had lost earlier when the concession lapsed. Naturally the Russians were seen as bogey men behind the whole thing. Morrison, The Times' correspondent went to Korea and found that Russia "treats the Japanese with studied conciliation ostentatiously communicating to the Japanese Legation the movements and expeditions of Russian troops in Manchuria, especially when they approach the Korean frontier, whether at the Yalu River or at the Tiumen." He did not believe the Russians were behind the loan, and it could not be used for railroad construction anyway.[79]

As the new year opened and the promoters of the Seoul-Pusan railroad were still trying to get a government guarantee on their investment, Ōishi Masami brought the question of the railroad up in the 14th Diet. On January 22, 1900 he questioned

the government on its foreign policy and in doing so placed the Seoul-Pusan railroad in a strategic context. He noted that the Trans-Siberian and Chinese Eastern Railroads would be finished shortly and that Russia planned to make Port Arthur and Dalnyi naval bases. What would that portend for the fate of Korea and China? They would be subject to a "closed door" system and under the control of a certain great power. Ōishi saw Japan as holding the balance. She should advance into north China and Korea with railroad and mining concessions. This meant that the Seoul-Pusan railroad should be built and that Japan must be on the look-out for an opportunity to obtain the rights for construction of both the Seoul-Uiju and Seoul-Wŏnsan lines.[80]

The government answered about three weeks later. Concerning the Seoul-Pusan railroad, the government spokesman pointed out that the promoters had not yet formed a company and had not asked officially for a government guarantee of the interest. Regarding other concessions, the Korean government was no longer giving foreigners any new concessions. The Frenchman had lost his concession for the Seoul-Uiju railroad because he had not begun construction in the specified period of time, and no one else would be given that concession.[81]

In early February Hoshi Tōru rose in the lower house and proposed that the Japanese law concerning railroad construction be changed so that Japanese could build railroads outside of Japan.

In his proposal, Hoshi stated that the Seoul-Pusan line would be an important connection with the CER and Trans-Siberian lines, and at the same time it would open Korea and promote Japanese trade.[82] Hoshi was followed by Sassa Tomofusa who read a short history of the Seoul-Pusan railroad and ticked off several reasons for building it. It would be an important trade route. Presently it took ten hours by ship from Bakan (near Shimonoseki) to Pusan and another 40 hours from Pusan to Inchon, but when the fog rolled in, it might take as long as one to three days. With a narrow gauge railroad goods could reach Seoul from Pusan in 15 hours, and if the line was standard guage, that time would be cut to ten hours, assuming a speed of 20 miles an hour. Furthermore the line would enable the Japanese government to protect its citizens and their investments in Korea while encouraging the intellectual and material development of that country. Sassa also held out the promise of trade when the line was extended to Uiju and connected with the CER because that would make it a major link in the east-west connection.[83] The bill to revise the law passed unanimously.

In the upper house a similar bill was introduced, but met with opposition on the part of Tani Kanjō. He pointed out that the proposed railroad would be neither a major line for Japan, nor would it be laid to a mining or industrial area. It would not open new land, not cross a new territory, and had very little

commercial value. Attempts to portray it as a necessity for the nation or the military simply masked private interests and made those who opposed it fear the label of traitor. Tani did not feel Japan had the resources to build the line, and whoever built it, should it prove unprofitable, could not sell it to the Korean government because that government could not buy it. He saw only one good argument. The line should be connected to the Trans-Siberian in order that the produce of Siberia could be exported via Korea.[84] The bill passed by a wide majority.

While these questions were before the Diet Sugimura Koichi, the acting Chargé in St. Petersburg, telegraphed, stressing the importance of the Seoul-Pusan railroad. He said that Japanese newspapers just reaching him reported the probable failure of the line owing to the refusal of the Japanese government to guarantee the interest. This he considered a mistake. While Russia's present policy called for consolidation of her position in the Liaotung, the earliest possible completion of the CER and Trans-Siberian railroad, and an increase in her Far Eastern squadron she was watching Japan for any sign of weakness. Sugimura believed that Russia had decided to retreat temporarily from Korea by the agreement of 1898 because she recognized the "weight Japan placed upon her enterprises in Corea." However should Russia sense a favorable opportunity she would not hesitate to take an aggressive line. Such an opportunity, Sugimura

felt, would be Japan's abandonment of her right to build the Seoul-Pusan railroad.[85]

The argument that the Seoul-Pusan railroad would be only one link in the major east-west route was a logical one, and it opened the way for later insistence on construction of the Seoul-Uiju line. In a talk with a reporter from the economic journal Tokyo keizai zasshi, Ōmiwa Chōbei linked the Seoul-Pusan railroad to the Trans-Siberian and Chinese Eastern railroads. Work on those lines was moving forward day and night, and they would soon be finished. When the CER was completed Port Arthur and Dalnyi, rather than Vladivostok, would be the termini of the Trans-Siberian. However it was only 60-70 miles from the CER's Mukden station to Uiju, and Russia could build that distance in about three months. Once the Mukden-Uiju railroad had been completed, a Seoul-Uiju line could be built, transforming the Pusan-Uiju line into the Korean trunk line. That would make it a world highway, and since Pusan was closer than Port Arthur or Dalnyi, Pusan would become the terminus of the Trans-Siberian/CER system.[86]

Takeuchi also emphasized the Russian approach when he told the Korean Emperor that the Seoul-Pusan line was necessary both for defense and economic reasons. When Takeuchi mentioned that Russia was hastening construction of the CER and that it would be finished within two years, the Emperor was surprised.

He replied to Takeuchi that the CER was being built for the purpose of Russian aggression in Asia, and in the event of its reaching Dalnyi, it was inevitable that Russia would begin a war of aggression against Korea. Takeuchi answered that railroads were a basic principle of economic development and not solely built for war. He did not think there would be a war.[87]

Activities for the organization of a company began in early February 1900. The promoters met to hear a report on progress, to organize a committee, set up an office, and select engineers to be in charge of construction.[88] However two major problems remained, and they were the subject of numerous talks during the summer between the promoters and various government officials. One problem was Article XV of the agreement with Korea. It limited stockholders to Japanese and Korean citizens only, and the promoters had planned to sell ¥20 million worth of stock to foreigners. Aoki Shūzō, the Foreign Minister, favored negotiations to get the article amended and instructed Hayashi Gonsuke to begin the talks. However the Korean government refused to countenance such a change. Yamagata's government resigned in October, and the new Foreign Minister, Katō Takaaki, believed that foreigners should not own stock in a company under the special protection of the Japanese government. That ended the matter of foreign participation for a while. The second problem was the question of guaranteed interest.

A movement arose in the cabinet to lower it from 6% to 5%. Takeuchi and Ozaki met with Prime Minister Yamagata, Finance Minister Matsukata, Communications Minister Yoshikawa Akimasa and Aoki and explained that conditions in the financial world were such that if investors did not get a guaranteed 6% they would not buy the stock.[89]

This issue remained unresolved when on September 21, 1900 the promoters formally requested the government's guarantee of 6% on ¥25 million. They asked that the interest be paid on paid-in capital and company loans beginning the month following the formation of the company for a period of 15 years, and that when the company's profits did not reach 6%, the government make up the difference. The government replied on September 27 with a set of 20 conditions. In summary, the government would guarantee the 6% for 15 years on capital, but only until the completion of construction on loans. In return the promoters had to buy up 20% of the first stock offering and had to get government approval for stock offerings, loans, budgets, operating regulations, and officers. Should any one of the 20 articles be violated by the company, the government would not guarantee the interest.[90] The Diet approved the government's guarantee in March 1901 and the company was formally established three months later in June.[91]

With the government guarantee at last, construction could begin. Although work moved slowly, to the public construction

was the important thing. The Asahi equated Japan's rights to build the Seoul-Pusan railroad with the other countries' rights to build in China. When the Japanese line was completed and extended to Uiju and connected with the CER and the Chinese railroad, Japan's position would not be inferior to those having rights in China.[92] Just before a second stock offering in October 1901 Shibusawa spoke of the significance of the line once it was joined to the CER and Trans-Siberian railroads.[93]

Between 1895 and 1900 the debate in Japan continued over the Russian railroad, over whether it was a threat or an opportunity and over what the implications were for Japan when Russia obtained the right to build across Manchuria and south to the Liaotung peninsula. Still among certain sectors of Japanese opinion a pessimistic view of Russo-Japanese relations prevailed, and these men began getting ready to meet a Russian threat. Intelligence was collected in Siberia by both the army and the civilians, and the army and navy launched broad expansion plans. To make sure Russia did not get into south Korea, the Japanese obtained a railroad concession for a Seoul-Pusan line that would allow them to consolidate their position in the south. The picture, however, was not totally black. Another group of Japanese hoped for better relations with Russia by increasing trade.

FOOTNOTES

[1]L. K. Young, British Policy in China 1895-1902 (London, 1970), pp. 19, 25-26.

[2]NGB, XXVII/II, No. 784, Nishi to Mutsu, Aug. 12; No. 787, same, Aug. 31, 1894.

[3]Ibid., No. 821, Nishi to Mutsu, Nov. 12; No. 826, same, Nov. 16, 1894.

[4]Ibid., No. 842, Nishi to Mutsu, Dec. 25, 1894.

[5]Ibid., No. 469, Inoue to Mutsu, Oct. 28, 1894.

[6]Ichijima Henkichi, ed., Ōkuma kō hachijūgo nen shi (Tokyo, 1926), II, 196-198.

[7]Kokumin no tomo, June 23, 1895.

[8]Cited in JWM, July 6, 13, 1895.

[9]Nihonjin, No. 6 (Sept. 25, 1895), pp. 23-26; No. 7 (Oct. 5, 1895), pp. 14-18.

[10]Taiyō, I, 10 (Oct. 5, 1895), 20; II, 3 (April 5, 1896), 23-24.

[11]Futatsubashi's reports are all appendixed to NGB, XXIX, No. 558, Aoki to Saionji, March 5, 1896.

[12]Asahi, Dec. 12, 1895.

[13]HSRS:G, III, 288-292. Letter of January 23, 1896.

[14]Akiyama Masanosuke denki hensankai, Akiyama Masanosuke den (Tokyo, 1941), p. 58.

[15]HSRS:G, III, 135-137.

[16]NGB, XXIX, No. 563, Nishi to Saionji, March 16; No. 564, same, March 17, 1896.

[17]Asahi, March 15, 1896.

[18]NGB, XXIX, No. 565, Futatsubashi to Hara, April 9, 1896.

[19]Asahi, Aug. 27; Oct. 25, 1896.

[20]Satō Kō, Ryōyō kōtsū ron (Tokyo, 1899), pp. 2-5.

[21]Ibid., pp. 5-7. [22]Ibid., pp. 7-8.

[23]Ibid., foreword, pp. 1-5. [24]Ibid., foreword, pp. 1-8.

[25]Ibid., foreword, pp. 1-8. [26]Ibid., foreword, pp. 1-4.

[27]TSSK, I, 572-573. Ryōhei den, pp. 123-125.

[28]Ibid., 573-585. Ryōhei den, pp. 129-159.

[29]Ibid., 585, 674. [30]Ibid., 649-650, 677.

[31]Ibid., 592-593. Ryōhei den, pp. 163-164.

[32]Ibid., 586-590. Tokutomi, Kawakami Soroku, pp. 170-175.

[33]Ishimitsu's story is told in two of his own books. Ishimitsu Makiyo, Jōka no hito (Tokyo, 1958), and Kōya no hana (Tokyo, 1958). See the former, particularly pp. 296-318, for his preparations to go to Siberia, and the latter for his experience in Blagoveshchensk.

[34]TSSK, I, 590-591. Ryōhei den, pp. 196-197.

[35]Asahi, Feb. 16, 1896.

[36]Asahi, Jan. 15, 1897; second edition.

[37]Oyama, Ikensho, pp. 228-240. Hackett, pp. 168-169.

[38]Yamamoto den, I, 397-402.

[39]Ibid., 411-412. Japan, Navy Ministry, Navy Minister's Secretariat, Kaigun gunbi enkaku (Tokyo, 1934), pp. 66-69.

[40]Tokutomi Iichirō, Kōshaku Matsukata Masayoshi den (Tokyo, 1935), II, 611-612.

[41]Asahi, Oct. 3; Nov. 28, 1895.

[42]Asahi, Oct. 8, 10; Nov. 28, 1895; Jan. 8, 1896.

[43]Kōno Banshū den hensankai, Kōno Banshū den (Tokyo, 1923), II, 416-427. Takeuchi Tsuna, "Takeuchi jijoden," Meiji bunka zenshū (Tokyo, 1929), XXII, 447-448. Tokutomi, Kawakami Soroku, pp. 164-165. While it was not difficult for Kawakami to persuade Kōno, he did not try to convince the former army officers in the House of Peers. They were Kawakami's seniors and were not happy about placing the fate of their country on the shoulders of an "upstart" (dekiboshi), a man who talked rather than listened. Miyake Setsurei, Dōjidai shi (Tokyo, 1950), III, 86-87.

[44]Korea, Government-General of Chōsen. Chōsen tetsudō shi. Dai ikkan. Sōshi jidai (Keijō, 1937), pp. 28-29 (Hereafter Chōsen tetsudō shi (1937)). Also Hasegawa Takashi, Yamaza Enjirō (Tokyo, 1967), pp. 35-39.

[45]Ibid., pp. 30-31.

[46]Ibid., pp. 33-36.

[47]Ibid., pp. 31-33. Kawakami told Takeuchi that the agreement with Korea of August 20 had been signed at his insistence, "Takeuchi jijoden," 454.

[48]Ibid., pp. 54-55.

[49]FO 46/451, Lowther to Kimberley, March 21, 1895.

[50]North China Herald, April 19, 1895. Concerning this proposal, B. A. Romanov says with some exaggeration: "With the forcible exclusion of Japan from southern Manchuria had come the collapse of that unified and integral plan for Japan's railway defense against the spread of Russian holdings on the Asiatic littoral so widely publicized the day after the signing of the Shimonoseki treaty." p. 102.

[51]Yamagata den, III, 221-222. This letter is incorrectly dated April 28. The correct date was April 21. See in Fujii Sadafumi, "Nisshin seneki ni okeru Yamagata Aritomo," Gunji shigaku, IV, 3 (Nov. 1968), 29.

[52]JWM, June 15, 1895.

[53]FO 46/453, Satow to Salisbury, Oct. 4, 1895.

[54]Rockhill, pp. 450-453.

[55]NGB, XXIX, No. 324, Komura to Mutsu, April 13, 1896.

[56]"Tō-Shi tetsudō," p. 188, Saionji to Hayashi, July 9, 1896.

[57]NGB, XXIX, No. 569, Saionji to Hara, July 20, 1896.

[58]Ibid., No. 351, Katō to Ōkuma, Oct. 20, 1896.

[59]Romanov, p. 111.

[60]Shibusawa Seien kinen zaidan ryumonsha hensan, Shibusawa Eiichi denki shiryō (Tokyo, 1957), XVI, 355-356.

[61]Ibid., 365-369. NGB, XXIX, No. 327, Saionji to Hara, July 16; No. 331, Hara to Saionji, Aug. 14, 1896. Romanov, p. 111. Shpeier told the U. S. Minister he had induced the Korean King to issue a decree to the effect there would be no new concessions to foreigners. USDS. Korea, Allen to Sherman, Jan. 21, 1898.

[62]Korea, Government-General of Chōsen. Chōsen tetsudō shi (Keijō, 1915), pp. 21-49 (Hereafter Chōsen tetsudō shi (1915)).

[63]March 26, 27, 1897; both in second edition.

[64]USDS. Korea. Allen to Sherman, Sept. 17, 1897.

[65]Chōsen tetsudō shi (1937), pp. 5, 51-52, 87-96. NGB, XXXI/I, No. 98, Katō to Ōkuma, Sept. 20, 1898. Romanov, pp. 110-111.

[66]Shibusawa denki shiryō, 381-382.

[67]Ibid., 383, 384-387. "Takeuchi jijoden," 456-458. JWM, Nov. 18, 1898.

[68]Ibid., 387-389.

[69]Chōsen tetsudō shi (1915), pp. 130-132.

[70]JWM, June 10, 1899.

[71]No. 138 (Oct. 5, 1899), pp. 11-13.

[72]Satō, Ryōyō, pp. 45, 67-69, 73-79.

[73]Ibid., pp. 1-8. Ōishi's afterword is dated March 1899.

[74]Chōsen tetsudō shi (1915), pp. 132-133.

[75]Ibid., pp. 153-154.

[76]JFMA. Tel. 1899, reel 24, p. 1465, Hayashi to Aoki, Aug. 30, 1899.

[77]Ibid., p. 1476, Hayashi to Aoki, Sept. 5, 1899.

[78]Chōsen tetsudō shi (1915), p. 155.

[79]Asahi, Aug. 27, 1901. JWM, Sept. 14, 1901. The Times, Sept. 20, 1901.

[80]Gikai shi, V, 497-501. [81]Ibid., 705.

[82]Ibid., 609. [83]Ibid., 609-611.

[84]Ibid., 171-172, 173-178.

[85]NGB, XXXIII, No. 141, Sugimura to Aoki, Jan. 25, 1900.

[86]Shibusawa denki shiryō, 394-396.

[87]"Takeuchi jijoden," 460-461. Audience with Emperor, April 27, 1900.

[88]Nihon, Feb. 1, 1900 in SSMH, XI, 16. Shibusawa denki shiryō, 391 for report from Tokyo keizai zasshi of Feb. 10, 1900.

[89]Shibusawa denki shiryō, 403-404, 418. When Itō asked Katō to join his cabinet as Foreign Minister, Katō gave him four conditions, one of which was that Itō had to recognize Katō as a supporter of the Seoul-Pusan railroad. Katō believed in it as part of an anti-Russian policy, and he was asking Itō for acknowledgement of a positive anti-Russian policy. Itō Masanori, Katō Takaaki (Tokyo, 1929), I, 377-380.

[90]Ibid., 426-429. [91]Ibid., 438-443.

[92]Asahi, Aug. 20, 1901.

[93]Asahi, Oct. 1, 1901. JWM, Oct. 5, 1901. Shibusawa denki shiryō, 453-454.

CHAPTER V. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE

While the years following the Sino-Japanese War brought an increase in tension, to many, perhaps the majority, they were also the years that held the most promise. The government in St. Petersburg took an active interest in the trade, and merchants began crossing the Sea of Japan both ways looking for opportunities. A sizable colony of Japanese formed in Siberia as more and more men and women sought either to work on the railroad or to take advantage of the business it offered. At the same time Japanese trade organizations began to form along the Japan Sea coast and even in Russia proper. More Japanese ports were opened, and shipping, although remaining at a low level, did increase some.

The feeling that the railroad and the expanded trade it offered would bring better political relations was common. Kōmuchi Tomotsune who had led the drive to open Miyazu in 1893 held such an opinion, and even as late as February 1903 the Tōyō keizai shimpō editorialized along the same lines.[1] This impression was strong enough for the Japan Weekly Mail to declare at the end of 1899 that the railroad was "counted a peace-making factor, which will tend chiefly to promote trade, and to foster those material influences that make for international good-will."[2] A corollary of this argument might be found in the views of those

who advocated an agreement with Russia as a means of reducing tension. Such an agreement, they felt, would lead to an increase in trade as Russia opened her Siberian market to Japan.[3]

Businessmen

With railroad construction progressing so rapidly, the men in St. Petersburg began to look at future trade possibilities in the Far East as one means of making the railroad pay for itself. In 1893 a Special Conference on Trade with the Asiatic States discussed the question of the porto-franco (duty free port) in Vladivostok. The Novgorod merchants wanted it abolished since they feared increased cheap imports would hurt their business, but the Priamur Governor-General, Baron Korf, considered such an action premature. Nevertheless the Conference decided the porto-franco should be ended in the interests of the Russian industrialists.[4]

The Siberian Railroad Committee then decided to set up an inter-ministrial committee to study the expansion of Russian trade with China and Japan. At the ninth meeting of the Committee on October 7/19, 1893 Witte read a report from Hitrovo, Minister to Japan. According to Hitrovo, the Japanese were paying close attention to the progress of the Trans-Siberian. They believed the railroad and the subsequent development of Russian territory in the Far East would have a great impact on Japanese exports.

Based on this report and other materials, the Committee decided to establish a special commission to gather information on trade with the Far East.[5]

Lieutenant-General Nikolai Zabugin, Councillor of the Ministry of Finance, headed the commission. It was charged with investigating the trade, the abolition of the porto-franco, the choice of a commercial port, the transit of foreign goods through Vladivostok to Manchuria and Russian shipping. In pursuit of his task Zabugin arrived in Japan on September 20, 1894. While there he talked to important Japanese businessmen and visited several Japanese ports. It was rumored that he was empowered to choose a port in Japan to be the terminus of the shipping route to Vladivostok. Consequently the supporters of Aomori were lobbying in the Diet to have their city opened to trade with Vladivostok.[6]

Zabugin met Sakuma Teiichi, a businessman with interests in paper, printing, and publishing companies and discussed the increase in trade the Trans-Siberian promised to bring. He suggested to Sakuma that Russia might be interested in Japanese sulfuric acid and sulfur.[7] When he journeyed to Hokkaidō, Zabugin met with a group of merchants in Hakodate and told them that the trade route across Siberia would be open by rail and water for traffic within three years and by rail all the way within five. To take advantage of this new route he said that Russia

would probably export cattle and furs and import coal and sulfur, and he urged the Japanese to open regular shipping service between their country and Vladivostok to handle the trade.[8]

In this Zabugin was only echoing an article that had appeared earlier in the Priamurskiia Vedomosti, the official paper of the Priamur Governor-General. The article noted that other than the export of kerosene from Russia, there was almost no trade at all between Russia and Japan. However the approaching completion of the Trans-Siberian railroad and the development of Siberia it would entail would almost surely bring about a great change in the trade with Japan. Possible Russian exports included cattle, salted meat, animal skins, animal hair, butter, bones and tallow from the Transbaikal. There was plenty of Russian timber, although care would have to be taken to prevent over-cutting, and as soon as Russian businessmen developed a better salting technique, more salted fish could be exported. As it was, the quality of salt was so poor much of the fish rotted. The article pointed out there was little possibility for increasing trade between Japan and Russia proper. That would come only after the Trans-Siberian was completed.[9]

Indeed if the Trans-Siberian railroad offered the possibility of greatly increased trade, it also brought with it the necessity of a customs duty. According to the newspapers of the time, it was not so much a question of whether the porto-franco should be

abolished, as it was how it should be done. Vladivostok had been made a porto-franco because it was so far from the industrial center of Russia, there was no way it could be supplied with Russian goods at reasonable cost. Then the Volunteer Fleet had begun regular service between Odessa and Vladivostok, and with its low shipping rates, Russian exports had expanded. Recently Russian imports into Vladivostok were double foreign imports. With the opening of the railroad many feared European and American goods, which were piling up in warehouses in Europe and America, would find their way into Russia duty-free and hurt Russian industry. However not all items would be subject to the duty. Grains, brown rice, agricultural tools, machinery and steel were the articles most frequently mentioned as remaining duty free.[10]

Naturally the porto-franco system had its defenders. Some newspapers argued that an increase in duty would only bring an increase in smuggling across the Chinese frontier. It would take an estimated one million rubles to control this smuggling, and the expected increase in revenue from the duty was only one million. Moreover it would also cost about 500,000 rubles to support the customs stations, so that would mean a half million ruble deficit. Thus, the papers argued, the new duty was just not worth the effort.[11] Another, more influential voice, also urged caution in abolishing the porto-franco. S. M. Dukhovskoi, the

Governor-General, in his report for 1896-97, warned that the Priamur could not be supplied from Russia proper even with the completion of the Transbaikal railroad. Thus any measure that called forth a trade crisis would tell heavily on the poorly prepared economic base of the Far East.[12]

In addition to considering the porto-franco, the Russian government was also taking other measures. According to the Asahi, when the government found out that the Diet had passed a bill making Miyazu a special import-export port, it had immediately begun surveying the sea route from Vladivostok to Miyazu.[13] In the late spring of 1894, Admiral Pavel Petrovich Tyrtov, Commander of the Russian Far Eastern Squadron, proposed to the Siberian Railroad Committee that information be collected on a sea route between Vladivostok and Aomori. It was only 420 nautical miles between the two cities, and there were Japanese who wanted Aomori to become a large commercial port. Tyrtov noted that the city, already connected by rail with Tokyo, was only 26-27 hours distant from the capital. Moreover there were other ports, Tsuruga and Naoetsu, that were only 12-17 hours from Tokyo by rail. Tyrtov was convinced that the Trans-Siberian would make Japan an important link on the route to America. The Committee decided to have the Ministry of Finance collect the necessary information.[14]

Apparently carrying through on Tyrtov's plan, in October

1896 two Russian ships arrived in Aomori. When a Japanese official visited the flagship, the Pamiat Azova, and inquired of the reason for the visit, the Russian commander replied that the Trans-Siberian railroad was advancing quickly and would soon reach Vladivostok. Once it was completed it was possible that regular steamship service would be established between Vladivostok and Aomori. Therefore he had come to inspect the harbor.[15]

Russian businessmen also began appearing in Japan. A General Solonko (Sorokko) visited the country in the summer of 1894 and met with members of the Nichi-Ro jitsugyō kyōkai. He was interested not only in trade with Japan, but also in Russian immigration to the Far East. Solonko returned to Japan in November 1895 and addressed a meeting of over 70 people, mostly Japanese businessmen, in Yokohama. He told them that to expand trade, the two countries would have to begin from some place close to Japan like Vladivostok. He suggested both countries build trade museums to make their products known in the other's country; that ways of exchanging money be established; and that the job of selling goods be entrusted only to capable men.[16]

Another Russian merchant came to Japan in April 1895. He said he planned to import Japanese goods to Irkutsk. None had reached there thus far because of poor transport.[17] A Russian merchant from Vladivostok opened a branch of his store in Kobe

in March 1896, and by October was doing so well he wanted to open another in Yokohama.[18] One Russian merchant said that when the Trans-Siberian railroad was completed a great market in Siberia would be opened for Japanese products. Japanese merchants had not moved much past Vladivostok, but even larger markets existed in Irkutsk and Tomsk. Last year, 1895, two or three merchants from those areas had come to Japan to buy merchandise, and now there was a great merchant from Kiakhta buying in the Osaka-Kobe and Tokyo-Yokohama areas.[19]

As the railroad neared completion more Japanese began to take an active interest in trade possibilities with Russia. Kambe Ōichi made several trips for the Japanese tea interest, and Japanese tea exports increased as quality improved and transport became better. Komiya Mihomatsu, a prosecutor for the Supreme Court, made a trip through Europe and America and returned with a belief that there was a good future for Russo-Japanese trade. Luxury items might not sell well. The Russians would continue to obtain them from Europe, but the middle-priced lines of goods should sell. To make the Russian public aware of Japanese products, Komiya proposed that sample rooms be set up in various cities. They could take orders which could be filled rapidly from Tokyo by taking advantage of the Trans-Siberian. The necessary translators could be obtained from the Japanese community in Vladivostok.[20]

One of the first men to investigate the possibilities of the Russian and Siberian markets for Japanese goods was Suzuki Otohei. Suzuki knew Russian well. He had lived and worked in Siberia, and he made several trips through the region to European Russia. In December 1900, he and a merchant from Nagasaki, Ezaki Eizō, opened an exhibition of Japanese goods in St. Petersburg. On display were lacquerware, porcelains, crepe paper, silks, bamboo objects, ivory and tortoise work, and more expensive cloth like pongee from Nishijin in Kyoto. The results of the exhibition were mixed. The cheaper items sold out, but the luxury goods could not be sold. Suzuki attributed this to the opening of the Paris Exhibition, the recession caused by the Boxer Rebellion, the fact that Emperor Nicholas was sick and in Yalta at the time, the effect of the Boer War on the economy, and the short time the exhibition was open. However he came away convinced that trade would develop. After all, there were already two stores in St. Petersburg operated by Russians that sold Japanese goods, and both were making money.[21]

Both Suzuki and Ezaki believed that the high Russian tariff was hurting trade. Ezaki complained that a cheap pair of window curtains that cost ¥10 in Japan had to be sold for ¥70 in Russia to make a profit. However he did note that the spinners in Lodz, Poland were going to stop using Italian silk thread and

start using Japanese thread. Ezaki also pinned some hope for an increase in trade on the completion of the Trans-Siberian railroad.[22]

Shimomura Fusajirō was another man who worked for the expansion of Russo-Japanese trade. He returned from Russia in October 1901 with plans to open a Russian language commercial school in Tsuruga and Japanese trade museums in Vladivostok and Irkutsk. In June 1903 there was a report that Shimomura had joined with a Moscow merchant to form the Nichi-Ro Trust to handle trade between the two countries. Shimomura's case is an interesting one. He was born in 1856 in Wakayama, studied there and in Osaka and travelled to Tokyo in 1885. The next year he joined the Communications Ministry where he served until 1893. He became interested in the possibilities of Russo-Japanese trade at the end of 1896 and travelled along the Japan Sea coast studying all the Japanese ports and railroad network. The following year he crossed over to Vladivostok to examine conditions on the Ussuri railroad, and returned to Japan via Sakhalin. On his return he began calling for the expansion of shipping routes on the Japan Sea and even submitted a plan to that effect to the Diet in 1900. During his trip to Russia in 1901, he talked with the Russian governor-general in Khabarovsk and with Witte and other officials of the Ministry of Finance in St. Petersburg. Shimomura returned to Japan in 1902, both times

travelling via the Trans-Siberian railroad. Unfortunately the war destroyed all his plans.[23]

The Japanese in Siberia

Not only was there an increasing number of Japanese businessmen going to Siberia and Russia, there was also an increasing number of Japanese taking up residence there.

Table 3. Japanese Population of Siberia, 1885-1903

1885	626	1890	778	1895	1,179	1900	3,501
1886	671	1891	589	1896	1,866	1901	3,516
1887	667	1892	722	1897	2,243	1902	4,336
1888	...	1893	806	1898	2,559	1903	4,198
1889	...	1894	1,291	1899	2,800		

Source: Dai Nihon teikoku nenkan (Tokyo, annual)

Japanese statistics are based on the reports of the Japanese Commercial Agent in Vladivostok. While they are undoubtedly inaccurate, they are the best available.[24] The bulk of the Japanese lived in Vladivostok, and the second largest number lived in Nikol'sk. However even by 1891 they had penetrated as far as Blagoveshchensk where there were 23 women and 16 men. In 1895 in Vladivostok there were 858 Japanese, 90 in Nikol'sk, 46 in Nikolaevsk, 94 in Khabarovsk, 36 in Novokievsk, 118 in Blagoveshchensk, 20 in Veniukov and 17 in other towns.

The only cities with a breakdown by occupation are Blagoveshchensk for 1899 and Vladivostok for 1901 and 1902. In the

former in 1899 there were 120 men and 140 women. They operated one general store, two photo studios, 10 laundries, five restaurants, five clothing stores and nine brothels. In addition there were 16 carpenters, 12 painters and one contractor.[25] In Vladivostok in 1901 there were 1,116 men and 1,100 women. Of the men 142 were merchants, 155 were carpenters, 167 were in the laundry business and the rest were distributed through various occupations. At that time there were three first class stores: the NYK office, Sugiura Shōten and Tokunaga Shōten. Sugiura handled ships, banking, insurance and imported and exported tea, cement, and other merchandise. Tokunaga imported mostly food and daily necessities. There were also 23 second class stores, most of which were general stores, and seven third class stores.[26] By 1902 there were four first class merchants and 10 third class stores. There were also five doctors, six tailors, 10 restaurants, 33 laundries and 18 brothels.[27]

One of the most noticeable aspects of the Japanese population is the high ratio of women to men. Not until 1894, when Japanese men began crossing to Siberia to work on the railroad, did the number of men exceed the number of women. As might be expected, the large majority of women were prostitutes. In 1902 there were over 400 women working in the 18 brothels in Vladivostok. How did they come to be there? Usually they were abducted from Japan. A Japanese historian who has studied the

history of these girls found that most of them came from the Amakusa area of Kyushu. Pursuing the matter further he discovered that between 1691 and 1856 the population of Amakusa increased between three and four times, but the gross product increased only about 1.8 times. So population pressure was perhaps the main factor in forcing the girls to go elsewhere.[28]

Why did they end up as prostitutes? Mori's study concerned itself chiefly with the Japanese in Southeast Asia, but his conclusions hold up equally well for Manchuria and Siberia. He found that the majority of the girls were abducted. A man would promise them a well-paying job elsewhere in Japan, and then put them on a ship out of the country. Since they had no money and no passport, once they reached their destination, they had little choice but to become prostitutes.[29] A reporter for the Asahi wrote about some of the young girls appearing in Manchuria, how they were abducted and transported.[30] The Asahi itself was not happy with this trade in human flesh. It rejected the argument that these women were the vanguard of the Japanese merchants and soldiers and wanted the government to prevent their going abroad.[31]

Ishizawa Hasshin, who travelled around Siberia in 1899, accused the Russians of encouraging the import of Japanese women. The Russian authorities would look the other way when the women entered the country without a passport, and would

then use the brothels to develop the city. Established in a new section, the brothels would attract other businesses. Then when the area was prosperous, the authorities would tax the brothels heavily and force them to move elsewhere, and the experience would be repeated.[32]

There were complaints that the prostitutes created a bad impression on the Russians, but the women and their men often had more economic power than legitimate Japanese merchants, particularly in newly opened areas. According to the Commercial Agent in Vladivostok, in 1902 the influence of the prostitutes was so pervasive that most of the legitimate businesses were connected with them in some way. Some even said that most of the money sent home by the Japanese was sent by the women.[33]

The story was the same in Manchuria. The women began moving to the railroad zone in large numbers as construction of the CER got underway. The Russian authorities provided them with free housing and firewood, and at first, with money and official protection. During the Boxer Rebellion soldiers were stationed outside the houses, and patrons had to show a pass to get in.[34] Prostitutes were even permitted to travel when Japanese merchants were not.[35] However the Russian attitude changed slowly. In late 1902, the prostitutes were reported to be paying the police chief in Harbin 300 rubles a month to stay in business. According to Shimakawa Kisaburō, there were

about 500 Japanese in Harbin at the time, and the majority of them were engaged in prostitution or in occupations catering to the prostitutes. These people amassed so much money that legitimate merchants borrowed from them to set up business. Thus the prostitution trade acted as a kind of bank. Shimakawa found only two merchants and one photographer in all Harbin who did not cater solely to the Japanese.[36]

The women were everywhere, and because they were generally the first Japanese into a Russian town, Ishizawa compared them to the Russian Cossacks who had acted as the vanguard of the Russian advance.[37] The official Kokuryūkai history calls them joshi gun or Amazons.[38] Travelling along the CER in May 1902, the assistant Japanese Commercial Agent in Vladivostok, Suzuki Yōnosuke, found brothels run by Japanese in almost all the stops along the line. There was one in Ma-ch'iao-ho, one in Hai-lin, one in Mu-tan-chiang, one in Shih-t'ou-ho-tzu, two in I-mien-p'o, one in Wu-chi-mi, and one in A-shih-ho, 11 in Harbin, three in Fulardi, one in Tsitsihar, and one in Cha-lan-t'un. South of Harbin he found one in Second Sungari, K'uang-ch'eng-tzu, and K'ai-yuan, and three each in T'ieh-ling and Mukden. There were even two in San-hsing, down the Sungari from Harbin, and one in Ninguta.[39] According to Segawa Asanoshin's report from Newchwang in August of the same year, there were 12 in Port Arthur and five in Dalnyi.[40]

As the first Japanese on the scene and because the nature of their work brought them into close contact with Russian army officers and men, the adventurers attempted to use the women to supply information. There is one story of a Japanese girl who tricked a Russian cypher clerk into letting her see a message. She then copied it and gave the copy to Uchida Ryōhei who forwarded it to Kawakami Soroku.[41] However just how much useful information these girls and their men were able to provide Japanese intelligence is anyone's guess.

As a whole the Japanese in Siberia were well treated, certainly much better than the Chinese or Koreans. Clean, obedient, skillful and honest were words frequently used to describe the Japanese.[42] So honest in fact were the Japanese laborers and even those who managed the prostitutes, that they were the ones hired to protect the large shipments of money when one of the merchants had to pay a bill.[43] Ueno Iwataro who spent some months in Vladivostok as correspondent for the Asahi thought the Russians considered the Japanese more Europeanized and more politically important than either the Chinese or Koreans. However he complained that this was like the love of an adult for a small child, and when the child came of age during the Sino-Japanese War the adult became jealous.[44]

Still the Japanese were allowed to walk on the sidewalks and were treated like Europeans. The Chinese and Koreans

had to walk in the streets.[45] One attribute that may have made the Japanese more comprehensible to the Russians was their habit of spending money freely. The Russians themselves were noted spendthrifts. This was in contrast to the Chinese and Koreans who tended toward parsimony. The Russians treated these last two "like they would oxen or horses."[46]

Another characteristic that may have made some of the Japanese attractive to the Russians was the diligence of the skilled workmen. Japanese masons were reported superior to their Chinese counterparts.[47] Skilled workers could always find jobs on the railroad or on the great quay being built in Vladivostok. However the common laborers presented a problem. A large contingent of them went over in the summer of 1895 to work on the Ussuri railroad. Soon they were complaining about the lack of food, the hard work and the poor pay. At first they were put to work cutting trees, but when they refused to do that, they were shifted to moving earth. When they weren't paid at the end of the month they demanded money from the subcontractor. He gave them a bill, and it turned out they owed him money. Upset, the workers sent a representative to the Commercial Agent in Vladivostok, Futatsubashi Ken, with a complaint. He gave them little satisfaction and trouble started. One man was almost killed, and the police were called in. Soon the men began leaving the job. Since they had no money, they had to walk back to

Vladivostok, a distance of between 70 and 100 miles. Once there the Japanese community and the Commercial Agent took up a collection to send them home. An investigation showed that the easiest jobs had been taken by the Koreans and Chinese because the Japanese had arrived so late. The organization of the trip had also been bad. The subcontractor and Futatsubashi and the Governor of Nagasaki-ken had violated Japanese immigration law in sending the men. For the most part the men had been untrained rabble, not used to hard work. They turned out to be better fighters and gamblers than workers. They spent their money on whiskey and did not eat the local food, but bought from the contractors. When they got sick the medical facilities were inadequate, and the doctor poisoned some of the patients. All in all it was a bad experience for the laborers and the contractors.[48]

Other men went to Siberia on their own to find work. Such a man was Kawachi Fumi. He had belonged to an organization in Tokyo called the Museikan, a group of workers of different trades. When it disbanded in 1892, Kawachi left for Vladivostok. He was a merchant for a while, but in May 1895 left to go on to Blagoveshchensk. There he and two or three others established another Museikan. In it were sections for masons, brick makers, carpenters, and joiners. As they got more work, they sent men to Irkutsk and Sretensk to get even more contracts.[49]

Wherever they went the Japanese banded together to promote

their interests. In Vladivostok their organization was called the Dōhōkai (Fellow Countryman's Association). It had a library and attempted to provide for the education, welfare, burial, and crematory needs of the Japanese. For a while it even published a magazine called Shiberia, but the Russian government forbade a foreign language journal to publish any scenes or geographical descriptions of Vladivostok, and the magazine folded after two or three issues.[50]

By 1902 the Japanese population in Vladivostok had become so large that the Dōhōkai could not provide the requisite services. So Kawakami, the Commercial Agent, drew up a plan for the expansion of the association. The new name was the Kyoryū-minkai, (Residents' Association). The most important men in the community would have to serve as officers. Membership was divided into 13 units, and each unit would elect two to four representatives to the executive committee. Officers consisted of a sōdai (foreman, president), two advisers, one deputy, one secretary, and one interpreter. The distribution of officers reflected the factions present. There were two in Vladivostok. One, led by Yoshida Bankichi, controlled prostitution. The other headed by a man named Kondo controlled the laundries (before Yoshida's arrival he had also controlled prostitution). The sōdai was Kawabe Ko, Kondo's son-in-law, and the secretary, Kikuchi Gunzaburō, represented the Yoshida faction. Terami Kiichi,

former Commercial Agent (1882-89) and now representing the NYK lines, and Sugiura Ryūkichi of the Sugiura Shōten became advisers. Money for the association was to be raised by a levy on each person and household, and the school would be supported by all the people instead of just a few influential men as in the old days.[51]

Organizations

As the railroad moved toward completion more organizations began to form in hopes of taking advantage of the increasing trade. A Japanese in Russia, Kashū Kameichi, got the Ministry of Finance's permission to open a trading company. It would be called the Yokohama bōeki kaisha (Yokohama Trading Company) and would be capitalized at ¥4 million. The company's principal export to Russia was to be silk thread and the main imports from Russia, sugar, kerosene, and grain. Kashū also got the agreement of several prominent Moscow capitalists to contribute to his Russo-Japanese Trade Bank (Nichi-Ro tsūshō ginkō) that would be headquartered in Moscow and have branches in St. Petersburg and throughout China and Japan.[52] There was even a Russo-Japanese Society established in Moscow to facilitate trade between the two countries. The society planned to build a silk weaving and finishing mill in the town of Slonim, Minsk province, and intended to promote the export of petroleum, wheat,

sugar and manufactured goods to Japan and import silk, tea, porcelain, crockery and other products from Japan.[53]

On the Japan Sea coast several organizations sprang up. In Toyama, Toyama ken, a group of men formed the Tōa bōeki dōmeikai (East Asiatic Trade League).[54] In Miyazu the Miyazu jitsugyō kyōkai (Miyazu Business Association) or the Nichi-Ro kōtsū kyōkai (Russo-Japanese Travel Association) was formed. The purpose was to make Tango (the old name for the area) a gateway to Russia in the development of Russo-Japanese trade. These men sent representatives to Korea and Vladivostok to investigate trade possibilities. As part of their overall plan they envisioned (1) offering a complete route between Europe and Osaka via Miyazu as part of the Fifth Japan Industrial Exhibition; (2) completion of preparations to make Miyazu a commercial port; (3) hastening construction of the railroad between Miyazu and Fukuchiyama and between Kyoto and Ayabe; (4) giving special favor to passengers coming to Tokyo from Brussels via the Trans-Siberian; (5) establishing a special discount for freight coming via Siberia; (6) investigating products, geography, people, commerce and customs along the Trans-Siberian railroad; (7) studying all means of expanding Russo-Japanese trade; (8) giving all conveniences to travellers arriving via the Trans-Siberian; (9) taking all other necessary measures to facilitate Russo-Japanese transport.[55] All plans for connecting the

Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe industrial area with Russia via Miyazu failed because the railroad to Miyazu was not opened until 1924. A Nichi-Ro kyōkai (Russo-Japanese Association) was also formed in Niigata to promote business between Russia and Japan, but nothing is known of it.[56]

Ports and Shipping

No doubt much of this activity was inspired by the opening of more ports in Japan. Shimizu, Yokkaichi and Nanao were opened as of August 1, 1897.[57] Misumi was added on May 20, 1898.[58] Finally a comprehensive list was made in July 1899. All special import-export ports were opened to trade with all countries with few restrictions. Muroran had to maintain a set level of exports of wheat, coal and other items designated by the Ministry of Finance. All ports had to maintain exports of ¥50,000 every two years or be closed, and the Finance Minister would announce three months in advance if any port was to be closed.[59]

With so many ports opened, the question came to be: which port would be the Japanese terminus of the Trans-Siberian railroad? In 1897 a writer in Nihonjin expressed doubt as to whether the Japan Sea coast was ready militarily and commercially for trade with Russia. He noted the talk of Japan's becoming the center of a world trade route when the

Trans-Siberian and the Nicaraguan Canal were opened, but thought the issue hinged on whether or not Vladivostok would be the terminus. There were rumors that Pusan or Ta-lien-wan might be the final destination of the railroad.[60]

Such doubts, however, did not dampen the enthusiasm of promoters of ports on the Japan Sea coast. Miyazu was generally thought the most suitable. It was close to the Osaka-Kobe-Kyoto area, the bay was five to twelve fathoms deep, and was large enough to accommodate 100 large ships. It was also protected from the large waves generated during the winter. Already in 1897 the townspeople were reported working on a waterworks and a merchant marine school.[61] However the lack of a railroad held back Miyazu.

Two other ports had a railroad, although they were not connected directly with the Kyoto-Osaka-Kobe area. Those ports, Tsuruga and Nanao, began to get ready. Tsuruga is on Wakasa Bay, as is Miyazu, but is further to the east. Just to the north of Lake Biwa, its railroad connection ran via Hikone on the east side of the lake and thence either to Kyoto or Nagoya. The Tsuruga town council decided to send ten promising students and a teacher to the Japanese school in Vladivostok to study Russian. This would familiarize them with both the language and the people. At the same time the council decided to build a hotel for foreigners since many were expected to arrive when the Trans-Siberian

railroad opened for traffic. The hotel and a trade museum could both be built for about ¥15,000, and the town council and various supporters would all contribute money. In addition the Japanese style hotels were to be speedily repaired, the parks redone, and a committee selected to study improvements on the wharf, landings, etc.[62]

Nanao is located on the eastern side of the Noto peninsula. Its railroad connection has already been described. The people of Nanao joined with the men of Toyama to form the East Asiatic Trade League. Nanao also had the support of Inagaki Nobutarō, a prolific commentator on Russo-Japanese affairs for Nihonjin. Inagaki felt Tsuruga would attract the freight since it was closer to the Osaka-Kyoto-Kobe area, so he advised Nanao to concentrate on the tourists. The Noto peninsula was a very scenic area, and there was a hot spring just to the north of Nanao. After the rigors of Siberia, foreign tourists might well enjoy a peaceful rest in Nanao. At the same time Inagaki looked on the Russian railroad as a bearer of culture. The "Black ships" had brought western culture to southern Japan, but that culture had never really penetrated the north. The Russian railroad, he felt, would do the same for the hitherto undeveloped Japan Sea coast. Thus the Trans-Siberian would have not only commercial, but also cultural importance.[63]

To take advantage of all these open ports there was very

little regularly scheduled shipping. After the Sino-Japanese war Ōya Shichihei of Osaka had begun regular service between Niigata-Hakodate-Otaru and Vladivostok with a ¥18,000 government subsidy. Only his line and the NYK offered regular service to Siberia. Between 1896 and 1900 the number of Japanese ships entering Vladivostok increased, but the tonnage between 1899 and 1900 dropped from 70,876 to 67,110 because of demands placed on Japanese shipping by the Boxer Rebellion. In 1900 NYK ships made 19 calls, ten fewer than the previous year, and accounted for 28,346 tons. Ōya's ship, the Gaisen maru, made eight calls and accounted for 8,880 tons. Of the remaining ships, two-thirds carried Chinese from Chefoo to Vladivostok and the other third was chartered by various merchants to carry goods from Japanese ports to Vladivostok.[64]

In 1902 Ōya added another ship to his service. For these two ships he received a government subsidy of ¥140,000. Yet over half of his scheduled service was between Japanese ports, and the two ships sailed for Vladivostok only every 40 days. Commenting on this the Asahi was not optimistic regarding the future of Ōya's routes in spite of the high hopes held by many. There was almost no trade between Russia and the Japan Sea coast, and what little there was was being hurt by the increased Russian duties. Nor was Vladivostok the sole terminus of the great Russian railroad. The CER and Dalnyi had cut

Vladivostok's usefulness by half. The paper was surprised that with so little hope for profit, Ōya had two ships on the run. Inagaki Nobutarō in the Nihonjin suggested that if Japan wanted to take any advantage of the Trans-Siberian, the ships would have to leave Tsuruga and Nanao at least every two weeks in order to meet the Trans-Siberian's arrival in Vladivostok.[65]

Trade

What was the state of Russo-Japanese trade if Japanese shipping provided so little service? On the whole trade showed a steady increase, generally unfavorable for Japan (Table 4). In 1903 Japanese trade with Russian Asia amounted to only about ¥10.5 million, and that added to the ¥1.5 million trade with European Russia, came to only 2% of Japan's total trade.

There was relatively little to import from Siberia, with or without the railroad. The majority of Japan's imports consisted of kerosene and salted fish. In 1895 kerosene alone accounted for 88% of Japan's total imports from Russian Asia. Thereafter the percentage slowly fell to 42% in 1900 and 1901, but in the last two years preceding the Russo-Japanese War it once again accounted for 64% and 56% of Japanese imports. In fact in the balance of all Japanese exports to Russian Asia and the import of kerosene, the exports exceed the import of kerosene only by an average of ¥615,308 for the years 1895-1901, and in 1902

Table 4. Japanese Trade with Russian Asia, 1894-1903

000's yen

Year	Imports	Exports	Total	Balance for Japan
1894	1,156	993	2,158	- 172
1895	1,372	1,248	2,620	- 124
1896	1,319	1,781	3,100	+ 462
1897	1,860	1,862	3,722	+ 2
1898	1,694	2,182	3,876	+ 488
1899	4,534	2,556	7,090	-1,978
1900	5,717	3,542	9,259	-2,175
1901	4,515	2,290	6,805	-2,225
1902	5,964	2,145	8,109	-3,819
1903	8,268	2,240	10,508	-6,028

Source: Nihon bōeki seiron (Tokyo, 1935), pp. 350, 352, 360, 362.

and 1903 the import of kerosene exceeded all Japanese exports to Russian Asia by ¥1.7 and ¥2.4 million, respectively.

Was the sudden increase in trade with Russian Asia in 1899 due to the opening of the ports on the Japan Sea coast? Unfortunately there is no way to tell. The Dai Nihon gaikoku bōeki nenpyō does not break down the imports of Russian Asia by Japanese ports. However in 1899 the import of kerosene and salted fish both more than doubled as compared with 1898 and there was a great increase in the import of animal bones, dried sardines and oil cake for use as manure.

The only detailed breakdown available is for the port of Nanao, an important one since Ōya Shichihei's line had a regularly scheduled route from there to Vladivostok. In 1899 all of Nanao's exports (¥13,016) went to Vladivostok, and the largest item was white rice worth ¥9,378. In 1900 again all exports went to Vladivostok. Of the ¥13,167, white rice accounted for ¥6,532, cement for ¥2,600, and fruits and vegetables for ¥1,728. Imports from Vladivostok included soybeans ¥2,505 and soybean cake ¥1,795. Not until 1902 did Nanao begin trading with other ports. That year of a total of ¥31,176 in exports, ¥28,197 went to Vladivostok. Fruits, vegetables and grains topped the list at ¥17,279, followed by beverages ¥6,353, tangerines ¥5,244, white rice ¥4,817, and vegetables ¥4,635. In 1903 Nanao exported goods valued at ¥40,551 of which

Table 5. Japanese Trade with Vladivostok, 1899-1902

	1899	1900	1901	1902
Exports from				
Nagasaki	667,121	740,451	552,940	499,452
Tsuruga	-	-	-	51,285
Otaru	67,622	25,340	40,064	63,151
Yokohama	123,278	212,076	42,086	13,528
Kobe	571,914	673,659	233,262	116,229
Osaka	-	-	245,187	135,674
Moji	-	-	156,457	146,429
Niigata	83,553	82,559	u/k	u/k
Hakodate	242,368	18,195	u/k	u/k
Fushiki	36,708	11,630	u/k	u/k
Other	11,958	22,021	-	-
Total	1,804,522	1,785,931	1,430,289	1,148,219
Imports into				
Nagasaki	128,349	29,444	447,039	76,458
Tsuruga	-	-	-	10,001
Otaru	144,712	178	3,515	48
Yokohama	85,497	158,502	131,942	260,841
Kobe	3,207	4,442	1,848	5,144
Osaka	-	-	3,682	661
Moji	-	-	179,960	686
Niigata	42,816	1,683	u/k	u/k
Hakodate	447,922	-	u/k	u/k
Fushiki	29,639	-	u/k	u/k
Other	8,092	2	-	-
Total	890,234	194,251	913,059	358,639

Source: Takashima, "Urajibosutoku bōeki," p. 37; Kampō Oct. 25, 1901.

¥38,855 went to Vladivostok. Fruits, vegetables and rice accounted for the major portion with ¥30,768.[66]

There seemed to be every opportunity for better relations between Russia and Japan based on increasing economic contact. Trade was increasing; the numbers of Japanese going both to Siberia and Manchuria to take advantage of the opportunities offered by the Russian railroad grew yearly, and Japan was even opening more ports to the trade. Yet somehow the trade never seemed to fulfill its original promise. The reason is related to the failure of Russo-Japanese relations to remain peaceful.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Nihonjin, No. 6 (Sept. 25, 1895), pp. 23-26; No. 7 (Oct. 5, 1895), pp. 23-24. Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 260 (Feb. 25, 1903), pp. 4-6.

[2]Dec. 30, 1899.

[3]This is the position usually identified with Itō Hirobumi and Inoue Kaoru; however it also had the support of the former Commercial Agent in Vladivostok, Futatsubashi Ken, who just happened to be the son-in-law of Enomoto Takeaki, the first Minister to Russia. See Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 281 (Sept. 25, 1903), pp. 14-15. Another supporter was Nakata Keigi, who had been chief of the Political Affairs Bureau of the Foreign Ministry during the Sino-Japanese War. See Ibid., No. 229 (April 5, 1902), pp. 9-10; No. 240 (Aug. 15, 1902), pp. 10-11; No. 243 (Sept. 15, 1902), pp. 11-13; and No. 273 (July 5, 1903), pp. 9-11.

[4]Narochnitskii, pp. 548-549; Unterberger, p. 221.

[5]Asahi, Jan. 17, 24, 1894. Kampō, Jan. 23, 1894.

[6]Narochnitskii, p. 669. Asahi, Oct. 3, 21, 1894; March 2, 1895.

[7]JWM, March 16, 1895.

[8]FO 46/451, Lowther to Kimberley, March 18, 1895.

[9]Asahi, Nov. 20, 21, 1894.

[10]Asahi, June 6, 13, 14, 21, 1895; June 7, 1896.

[11]Asahi, Sept. 1, 1896.

[12]Russia. Priamurskoe General-Gubernatorstvo. Vsepoddaneishii otchet priamurskago general-gubernatora General Leitenanta Dukhovskago, 1896-1897 gody (St. Petersburg, 1898), p. 66.

[13]Asahi, Nov. 11, 1893.

[14]Asahi, May 6, 1894. Kampō, May 5, 1894.

[15]Asahi, Oct. 16, 1896.

[16]Asahi, July 10; Aug. 8, 26; Oct. 17, 1894; Nov. 10, 1895.

[17]Asahi, April 30, 1895. [18]Asahi, Oct. 23, 1896.

[19]Asahi, Oct. 30, 1896.

[20]Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 196 (May 25, 1901), pp. 11-12; No. 197 (June 5, 1901), pp. 11-13.

[21]Ibid., No. 201 (July 15, 1901), pp. 16-18; No. 204 (Aug. 15, 1901), pp. 18-20; No. 205 (Aug. 25, 1901), pp. 17-20. Biographical information may be found in TSSK, III, 800. Suzuki graduated from the Russian department of the Tokyo Foreign Language School in 1880. In 1882 he went to Siberia and stayed for six years. On his return he became a translator for the Russian Legation and made several more trips through Siberia. In 1897 he became a lecturer in Russian at the Tokyo Higher Commercial School, and two years later was made professor at his old school, the Tokyo Foreign Language School. He travelled to Europe in 1900, returning the following year to resume his duties teaching. During the Russo-Japanese War he served as an interpreter.

[22]JWM, Sept. 28, 1901. Asahi, Nov. 29, 1901.

[23]Asahi, Oct. 20, 1901; June 22, 1903. For biographical information see TSSK, III, 710-711, and Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 278 (Aug. 25, 1903), p. 39.

[24]For the Russian figures see Commercial Relations, 1901, I, 982-983, and Unterberger, appendix I.

[25]Ishizawa Hasshin, Hakuzan kokusui (Tokyo, 1900), pp. 106-107.

[26]Kampō, Oct. 24, 1901.

[27]Takashima Masaaki, "Urajibosutoku bōeki to gaikoku kawase kinyū," Tochi seido shigaku, XIV, 4 (July, 1972), 39.

[28]Mori Katsumi, Jinshin baibai. Kaigai dekasegi onna (Tokyo, 1959), p. 21.

[29]Ibid., pp. 97-112. [30]Asahi, May 2, 1902.

[31]Asahi, May 6, 7, 1902. [32]Ishizawa, pp. 111-112.

[33]Ibid., pp. 113-114. Asahi, Sept. 16, 1896. Imai Shōji, "Nichi-Ro sensō zengo Manshū zairyū Nihonjin no bunpu jōtai," Rekishi chiri, LXXXIX (1960), 175-177.

[34]Irie Toraji, Hōjin kaigai hatten shi (Tokyo, 1942), pp. 446-448.

[35]Asahi, Jan. 29, 1903. [36]Imai, p. 47.

[37]Ishizawa, p. 112. [38]TSSK, I, 593-595.

[39]Kampō, Aug. 21, 1902.

[40]"Tō-Shi tetsudō," pp. 959-962, Segawa to Komura, Aug. 27, 1902.

[41]TSSK, I, 593-595. [42]Asahi, Nov. 28, 1896.

[43]Asahi, Feb. 4, 1896. [44]Asahi, Feb. 16, 1896.

[45]Asahi, May 26, 1893. [46]JWM, Jan. 19, 1895.

[47]Asahi, Feb. 16, 1896.

[48]Asahi, June 19; Nov. 30; Dec. 1, 4, 6, 7, 8, 12, 1895; Jan. 18, 1896.

[49]Asahi, Aug. 7, 1896.

[50]Asahi, Sept. 20, 1895. Ishizawa, p. 105.

[51]Asahi, Feb. 27, 1902. Ryōhei den, pp. 117-122.

[52]Asahi, May 17, 1903.

[53]The Times, Oct. 2, 1902. Taiyō, VIII, 15 (Dec. 5, 1902), 48.

[54]Asahi, March 21, 1902.

[55]Asahi, July 29, 1902. Jiji, July 30, 1902 in SSMH, XI, 441-442.

[56]Taiyō, VIII, 15 (Dec. 5, 1902), 17 from back.

[57]Kampō, June 26, 1897. [58]Kampō, May 20, 1898.

[59]Kampō, July 13, 1899. The ports declared open were Shimizu, Taketoyo, Shimonoseki, Moji, Hakata, Karatsu, Kuchinotsu, Tsuruga, Fushiki, Sasuna, Shishimi, Izugahara, Misumi, Naha, Hamada, Sakai, Miyazu, Nanao, Otaru, Kushiro, and Muroran.

[60]Nihonjin, No. 37 (Feb. 20, 1897), pp. 25-27.

[61]Asahi, Sept. 22, 1897.

[62]Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 227 (April 5, 1902), p. 32. The Japan Weekly Mail reported on January 18 that the CER had decided to open an office in Tsuruga, making it in effect the terminus of the Trans-Siberian railroad.

[63]Nihonjin, No. 155 (Jan. 20, 1902), pp. 23-27; No. 163 (May 20, 1902), pp. 19-23; No. 168 (Aug. 5, 1902), pp. 19-25.

[64]Kampō, Oct. 25, 1901.

[65]Asahi, Oct. 29, 1896; March 31, 1897; Feb. 9, 19, 1902; Nihonjin, No. 163 (May 20, 1902), pp. 19-23.

[66]Ishikawa ken tōkei nenkan (Kanezawa, annual).

CHAPTER VI. THE FAILURE OF CONTIGUITY

Between 1895 and 1900 political tensions between Japan and Russia increased. Russia moved into Manchuria, and this aroused fears in Japan that Korea might be the next Russian objective. That small country was the subject of no less than three agreements between the two powers in the space of two years. To counter any Russian threat the Japanese began preparing militarily, and at the same time they obtained a concession to build a railroad in Korea. Other Japanese looked at the more optimistic side of the picture. They hoped increasing trade would bring the two closer together. Yet the trade never reached the anticipated levels, and Russia did little to promote it by ending the porto-franco at Vladivostok in 1901. Moreover just as the duties were rising in the Russian Far East, so were political tensions over Manchuria. Russia occupied and demilitarized the three Chinese provinces in the summer of 1900 to protect her railroad, and the problem for Japan became how to get her out.

Disappointments in Trade

Although trade between Russia and Japan was growing yearly, it remained at a relatively low level and was an insignificant percentage of each country's total trade. The reasons why are not difficult to find. One was the lack of capital and financial institutions. In Vladivostok the merchants' busiest time of the year

was the winter when all outdoor work had to stop because of the cold. That left the workers free to go to town and spend their money. Yet goods had to be imported during the summer months before the harbor froze. That meant there had to be a substantial cash outlay that might not be recovered for some months. Since few Japanese merchants had large amounts of capital, their buying power remained small.[1]

Coupled with the lack of capital was the absence of any way for the Japanese to obtain financing. The Russian merchants and others could go to the Russian banks or Kunst and Albers, the largest merchant, which functioned like a bank, but these institutions were not anxious to aid the Japanese. There were reports that the Yokohama Specie Bank might begin corresponding with the Russo-Chinese Bank and that a Russo-Japanese Bank would be established, but neither appears to have happened.[2] In March 1902 a reporter in Vladivostok stated that the reason trade was stagnating was not the duty, but the lack of a financial institution. At that time there were 6-7,000 bales of grain stacked in the warehouse, but they could not be officially imported into Vladivostok because there was no money to pay the duty and no way to finance it.[3]

The main burden of banking, financing the trade, and remitting money to Japan fell on the one or two large Japanese merchants in Vladivostok. The largest merchant house was the

Sugiura Shōten. In 1902 it had commercial, banking, and marine departments, and in addition represented Japan Marine Insurance, Meiji Life Insurance, Osaka Life Insurance and Ōya Shichihei's shipping firm.[4] The size of this firm may be judged from the amount of money remitted to Japan in 1901.[5]

Sugiura Shōten Banking Dept.	¥418,656	(to Nagasaki ¥201,350, to Osaka ¥69,427, to Kobe ¥18,445, to Tokyo ¥47,829)
Tokunaga Shōten Banking Dept.	291,465	
Shimizu Senzaburo Shōten	133,181	
NYK	44,530	
Total	887,832	
Other	100,000	(Russo-Chinese Bank, Kunst & Albers)

No Japanese bank opened a branch in Vladivostok until after the Russo-Japanese War.

Another frequently mentioned reason for the lack of trade was the inability of the Japanese merchants to compete with the Chinese. The Russians and Germans had most of the large trade, and the Chinese controlled the small trade in day-to-day necessities. Chinese stores sold both Chinese and Japanese goods and operated mostly on credit, while the Japanese merchants tended to sell only Japanese goods and were so short of capital that they were forced to deal in specie. At first the Chinese merchants bought Japanese goods from the Japanese, but then they began going directly to Japan to buy, thus lowering the price until the Japanese found it difficult to compete.

Moreover the Chinese tended to work together to hold down competition among themselves; whereas the Japanese operated alone, competing vigorously with each other. Competition was sharp and the Chinese made it even sharper by living frugally. The Japanese, on the other hand, went to Siberia as bachelors and were reported to lack any concept of thrift. If they made ¥1,000 in the morning, they would spend it in the afternoon. This made it easy for the Chinese to undersell them.[6]

Poor quality of Japanese products was another frequently mentioned reason for the lack of trade. With the Chinese underselling them, the only way the Japanese could compete was to lower their price, and that could only be done at the expense of quality. On the outside the products looked good, but the inside was poorly made. Once the confidence in the quality of Japanese goods was shaken, it was difficult to restore.[7]

Other reasons cited were the lack of Japanese interest in Siberia. One writer complained that while the Europeans were competing for the riches of Siberia, the Japanese were doing nothing.[8] Another charged that the Japanese consuls in Russia were not doing their job. Although the Foreign Ministry published their reports, the Japanese merchants had little confidence in them, and they were always too late to be of much use. He also criticized the consuls for not emphasizing the impact of the Trans-Siberian railroad enough. While extolling the changes the

Russian railroad would make in commerce in the Far East, he suggested that the consuls be selected more carefully; that they have a basic grounding in economics and be encouraged to act as economic observers.[9]

The Japanese merchants complained there was little to import from Siberia besides kerosene. For example in the first six months of 1902, 57 steamers of Japanese registry entered Vladivostok. Of these 40 carried cargo and 17 were in ballast. During that same period 21 of the steamers left with cargo and 33 left in ballast. These figures are not surprising when it is realized that kerosene and salted fish accounted for 94% of Japan's imports from Russian Asia in 1902 and 73% in 1903.[10]

If the Japanese were having trouble competing in Russia, the Russian government was certainly not helping them. On June 4/16, 1899 a duty was placed on the import of tea, one of the most promising of Japanese exports. It called for a tax of 22.50 rubles per 36 pounds on bobea, black, green and yellow teas imported via Irkutsk.[11]

Then in September of the same year Russia made Japanese goods not accompanied by a certificate of origin subject to the general tariff, thus depriving them of the advantages of the conventional tariff's lower duties. When the Japanese representative in St. Petersburg asked why Japanese goods were being discriminated against, Murav'ev told him it was to distinguish real

Japanese products from their German and French imitations. When pressed further the Russian Foreign Minister added that the new Japanese customs tariff of January 1, 1899 had made Russian goods subject to the conventional tariff only upon presentation of a certificate of origin, and the Russo-Japanese Treaty of Commerce and Navigation was based on reciprocity. Moreover since Chinese and Japanese goods were similar, and the Chinese government did not grant Russia most-favored-nation treatment, the regulations were necessary to safeguard the reciprocity between Russia and Japan and distinguish between Japanese and Chinese goods. After continued Japanese complaints, the Russian government agreed in July 1900 to abrogate the regulations for presentation of certificates of origin to Russian customs.[12] However before this dispute was settled, St. Petersburg had taken an even more drastic action.

By a law of June 10/23, 1900 the porto-franco at Vladivostok was ended. As of January 1/14, 1901 most goods imported into Vladivostok would be subject to the regular European duty. Exceptions included polished rice which would be liable for only half of the European duty; tea whose duty remained unchanged; and coal, vegetables and several other items which remained duty free. The effect in Japan was almost immediate. Cries went up that the new duty was so high as to be almost punitive; that the Russian poor were being called upon to subsidize a Russian

industry grown fat with sloth from long years of protection.[13] In Vladivostok the feeling among the Japanese was one of desolation. The duty of 1 tabi (a type of Japanese sock) was 60 sen and on about 23 lbs. of red snapper, ¥5. Those Japanese with a little capital were reported moving on to Harbin to avoid the duty and taking their goods with them, but some could not even move because of the fees they would have to pay the Russian government if they left: ¥5 for the Red Cross Hospital, ¥2 to the police, ¥2 as a commission.[14]

Even before the European duty became effective in the Far East it was increased temporarily to provide revenue to cover the cost of the Russian effort in suppressing the Boxers. The increase varied from 10% to 50%. Nomura Motonobu, the acting Commercial Agent in Vladivostok, reported the increase would have little effect on Japanese exports to Vladivostok, but coupled with the new European duty, there would be a very great effect on Japanese trade.[15] Komura Jutarō, Minister in St. Petersburg, observed that of Japanese exports only fish oil was in the 50% category. There was nothing in the 30% category. In the 20% category were porcelain, baskets and matting, notions and cosmetics, and in the 10% increase category, pottery, lacquerware, copper and alloys, paper, silk handerchiefs and other textiles. Consequently there might be some small effect in European Russia.[16]

In June 1900 a tax was also placed on ships tying up at the quay in Vladivostok. The new tax was based on length, displacement and time. For ships 200-300 feet long that stayed a week or less, the tax was 50 rubles. Thereafter depending on length and time, the tax rose. There was also a charge for storing cargo on the docks, 50 kopeks per week per 48 square feet.[17] In October 1901 a tax of 10 kopeks per ton was placed on ships when they entered and left Vladivostok. However when Kawakami Toshihiko, the Commercial Agent, pointed out this would violate the most-favored-nation agreement, it was dropped.[18]

What effect did the duty actually have? Much of the early reaction must have been psychological. Although the duty was supposed to have been put into effect on January 1, 1901, preparations were not ready, and the actual duty was never collected fully until March 1/14, 1902.[19] However exports to Russian Asia in 1900 increased about ¥1 million over the previous year. The increase between 1898 and 1899 had been only about ¥500,000. Then in 1901, Japanese exports fell to only ¥2,290,000. That is a 28% drop from the previous year. There was no sudden bulge in trade at Vladivostok in 1900 as merchants tried to get their goods in before the duty took effect. Rather in Vladivostok Japanese trade reached a peak in 1899 and decreased by about ¥20,000 in 1900. Then in 1901 there was a further drop of about 20%, from ¥1,785,931

to ¥1,430,289. The Asahi felt the overall decline was not so great in view of the sudden bulge at the end of 1900. The paper claimed, however, that this was nothing to worry about from the point of view of Russo-Japanese trade. The trade would continue to grow.[20]

At the end of 1901 both the Asahi and the Japanese Commercial Agent in Vladivostok reported on the duty's effect on trade. The reporter felt the new duty on white rice of 45 kopeks per 36 lbs. would mean a decrease in Japanese exports, but that the amount of unpolished rice, which remained duty free, would increase. Chinese rice cost 1.4 rubles per 36 pounds within 20 kopeks of what Japanese rice cost, but the price of Japanese rice was rising. Exports of cotton textiles and clothing would probably stop since the duty had risen from 0.52 to 2.17 rubles. The duty had also increased the price of shōyu, and that troubled its Chinese, Japanese and Korean users. Coal remained duty free and both the reporter and the Commercial Agent agreed that Japanese coal had a good future in the Russian Far East. Brick tea was not subject to the duty, and Japanese exports were increasing, but the other teas had little market. The Boxer Rebellion was affecting the brick tea market. Merchants were trying to sell out and the price was falling. Japanese flour had been shut out of the market by cheaper American flour. Table salt remained duty free, but the Japanese product was of such

poor quality that it could only be used for salting fish. Porcelain, lacquerware, etc. were subject to a heavy duty and showed little possibility. The Commercial Agent also felt there would be a good market for Japanese cement. Imports had fallen off in 1900 because construction had been halted by the Boxer Rebellion, but it was expected to pick up again soon. British and German cement cost from six to six and one half rubles per cask. Japanese cement, although of poorer quality, cost only five rubles. He suggested the Japanese improve the quality of their product, and they would sell more. Finally Japanese prostitutes did not fall under the new duty. Their quality was high; the price was low, and since they had earned the confidence of the natives and foreigners, there would always be a good market.[21]

One thing that the imposition of the duty did give rise to was smuggling. It had always been a common practice across the Manchurian frontier, but in March 1902, two Japanese were caught trying to smuggle textiles and handkerchiefs into Vladivostok. The goods were confiscated, and the Japanese fined a total of ¥770.[22] The smuggling through Manchuria made the Russian merchants ask that the duty be imposed on foreign goods coming through Port Arthur and Dalnyi.[23] Witte tried to remedy this complaint when he made his tour through the Far East in the fall of 1902.

By 1902 the port of Vladivostok was in a state of decline.

Some of the reasons were obvious. Some were not. One, perhaps the major, reason was the construction of the Chinese Eastern Railroad. With the opening of the duty free port of Dalnyi, goods could move through Manchuria to Harbin on the railroad, and then go down the Sungari River into Siberia. There they could enter duty free under the guise of Chinese goods.[24] Perhaps another less obvious reason was that the East Asiatic Steamship Co., the subsidiary of the CER, had halted its Vladivostok-Nagasaki-Shanghai-Port Arthur run in favor of a Dalnyi-San Francisco run. Furthermore the American firm, Morgan Trust, was also planning to run ships over the same route. The Russian government had also decided to import all tea, bronze, steel and rice via the CER and not use the Ussuri line. Finally the Chinese tea merchants had signed a special contract with the CER that enabled them to avoid making a deposit in Vladivostok before paying duties on tea going to Irkutsk and on west.[25]

With traffic shifting from Vladivostok to Dalnyi, Witte realized he had to do something to aid Vladivostok. He refused to apply the duty at Dalnyi as a means of controlling smuggling, but he did offer the Vladivostok merchants two other measures. One was the establishment of a free trade zone in Vladivostok. Under the regular system a man would have to pay the duty on his goods all at once, when they arrived, even though their sale might be

extended over many months. This was risky for the merchants because the duty would not be refunded on the unsold goods should they be reexported. With a free trade zone, goods could be stored in the zone, and the duty was payable only when they were brought out for sale. All unsold goods could be reexported without paying any duty. Thus merchants could operate with less capital.[26]

The second thing Witte did was to allow Chinese goods to enter Russia by sea duty free. The treaty of 1881 with China had established a free trade zone of 33 miles on either side of the Russo-Chinese border, but this new expansion of Chinese privileges immediately raised an outcry in Japan. The Asahi called such a move illegal[27] and claimed Japan should get the same privileges under the most-favored-nation agreement.[28] When no Russian satisfaction was promptly forthcoming, the paper advocated taking up the matter in St. Petersburg.[29] Tomizu Hirondo, a professor at Tokyo University and later called "Baikal hakase" (Dr. Baikal) because he wanted Japan to extend her control as far as Lake Baikal, denounced the Russian action and insisted Japan be given the same privilege.[30] The Tōyō keizai shimpō saw it as an attempt by Russia to keep other countries' goods out and hoped the matter would be settled quickly.[31] Taiyō doubted Russia would accord Japan the same privilege. It predicted that Russia would either refuse because she would then

have to grant the same right to all, or she would abolish the privilege altogether.[32]

The Japanese government was not slow to question the Russian government on Witte's new policy. Kurino Shinichirō, the Japanese Minister, inquired of the Ministry of Finance if it was true the Chinese land duty would also be applied to goods coming in by sea. The Ministry told him it was uncertain, but the Director of Customs told him it was true. When Kawakami, the Commercial Agent in Vladivostok, telegraphed Kurino that the duty was in effect, Kurino immediately wrote a letter to the acting Minister of Finance, pointing out that this was in violation of the most-favored-nation agreement. When he got no response he wrote again. Not until January 27, 1903 did he get to see Witte. At that meeting Witte told Kurino that he was perfectly correct, and that the situation would be cleared up shortly. However he was uncertain whether the most-favored-nation status would be applied to Japan, or whether there would be a return to the status quo ante. As it turned out, the Russian government decided on the latter course. Beginning February 1/14, 1903 the duty would be applied to all Chinese goods entering Russia through Vladivostok or Nikolaevsk.[33]

By about 1900 the old dreams of the Trans-Siberian railroad's having a dramatic impact on the trade with Japan had about been dispelled. Vladivostok was beginning to stagnate and

informed writers began to emphasize the steady growth in trade without holding out any remarkable promises of an increase because of the Trans-Siberian/Chinese Eastern system.[34] The question then becomes what effect did the railroad have on Russo-Japanese trade? Without detailed Russian railroad statistics it is impossible to tell just how much Japanese produce was shipped over the railroad, but since the railroad meant growth in Siberia, more immigrants, more money, more of everything, one may say that the railroad stimulated local trade.

Certainly as Siberia developed Japanese exports of tea to Russian Asia increased. The Japanese tea producers made

Table 6. Japanese Tea Exports to Russian Asia, 1895-1903

yen

Year	Black	Brick	Year	Black	Brick
1895	523	3,292	1900	9,231	43,317
1896	1,460	9,173	1901	4,343	108,284
1897	1,344	1,568	1902	2,526	197,284
1898	8,592	2,942	1903	4,307	905
1899	3,867	9,390			

Source: Dai Nihon gaikoku bōeki nenpyō (Tokyo, annual)

special efforts to investigate the Russian market. Kambe Ōichi visited Russia and Siberia for them in 1895 and again in 1897.[35] A Russian commission going around the world visiting tea

producing areas stopped in Japan in September 1896.[36] From such investigation it became evident that Japanese manufacturers would have to improve the quality of their tea. The most frequent Russian criticisms were that Japanese tea was bitter, had little fragrance, and could not make more than one brewing. Moreover the poor quality tea imported first from Japan had given Japanese tea a bad name. In trying to establish themselves in the Russian market the Japanese producers had exported cheap low quality teas, but the Russian army and navy men, officials and merchants all drank top quality Chinese tea. Consequently the Japanese had lost the confidence of these men. Futatsubashi Ken, Commercial Agent in Vladivostok, suggested the Japanese needed to increase their production in order to create a surplus of tea. The fragrance came out, and the bitterness was lost only after tea had been stored a long time. With a surplus the Japanese could store one year's production to sell the following year, and the quality would be much higher.[37]

The Russian duty on tea, first applied on June 4/16, 1899, appears to have had only a momentary effect on Japanese exports. Exports of black tea dropped from ¥8,592 in 1898 to ¥3,867 in 1899, but they bounced right back up in 1900 to over ¥9,000. There was no duty on brick tea, and exports increased remarkably. They tripled between 1898 and 1899, and almost quintupled again in 1900. In August 1902 the duty on tea was raised

again, to 25.5 rubles per 36 pounds. The cost of importing tea had dropped after the opening of the Trans-Siberian and CER, and the government wanted to equalize the cost over land and sea.[38] This addition does not appear to have harmed Japanese exports. From ¥2,526 in 1902, they rose to ¥4,307 in 1903.

One item directly connected with the railroad was coal, and imports from Japan increased rapidly as the railroad came into operation. Russia was interested in Japanese coal because of

Table 7. Japanese Coal Exports to Russian Asia, 1896-1903

	yen		
1896	88,647	1900	183,243
1897	79,714	1901	261,414
1898	168,817	1902[a]	202,786
1899	160,436	1903[a]	125,158

[a]lump coal only
Source: Dai Nihon bōeki nenpyō, annual.

its high quality. Neither Sakhalin coal, nor the firewood being used produced enough heat in the boilers of the trains.[39] In November 1901, P. M. Romanov, Vice-Minister of Finance, was reported to be in Japan negotiating a five-year, ¥25 million contract with the Miike mine for a supply of coal for the Chinese Eastern Railroad.[40] A Japanese reporter foresaw a good market for Japanese coal. The CER would have to burn it because firewood would be too expensive in Manchuria, and as

industry developed coal would be used both to run the machines and to heat the buildings during the cold Manchurian winter.[41] At the time Japanese coal could undersell even Sakhalin coal. Japanese coal cost 11-12 rubles per ton at Vladivostok. Cardiff coal cost 40-45 rubles, and Sakhalin coal 13-14 rubles per ton.[42]

Various fruits and vegetables also found a ready market in the Russian Far East as the population increased. Exports from Japan began in quantity in 1898 totaling ¥76,471 and grew every year after with the exception of 1900. In 1902 the amount reached ¥202,258 and in 1903 ¥274,080.[43] Cement, shōyu, salt, beer and various other Japanese exports all showed a tendency to increase as Vladivostok and the Russian Far East began to develop.[44]

Deteriorating Political Relations

The year 1900 opened with latent distrust of Japanese intentions in St. Petersburg. This traced back to Itō Hirobumi's visit to China in 1898; three letters he was supposed to have sent to influential Chinese statesmen suggesting a rapprochement with Japan; and the dispatch of two Chinese envoys to Tokyo in August 1899. Suspicions were even further aroused by the arrival in China of Japanese military instructors, and the opening of Japanese language schools by the Tōa dōbunkai (East Asian Common Culture Society).[45]

Surveying Russia's position at the beginning of the year, the Foreign Minister, M. N. Murav'ev, felt that Russia should not undertake any new projects, but should consolidate the position she had already attained. She had gotten the long desired ice-free port, and soon it would be connected to the Trans-Siberian railroad. Consequently Murav'ev wanted to continue preparations of troops in the Kwantung peninsula and Priamur military district to bring them to battle readiness, and at the same time fortify Port Arthur. Construction of the CER and an increase in the Far Eastern squadron would still require a few years. He rejected the idea of a seizure of some place in Korea like Kargodo (Koje) because if Great Britain did not oppose it, Japan would. Witte, Minister of Finance, agreed because he did not want any larger expenditures, and so did Kuropatkin, Minister of War, who was anxious to turn Russia's attention back to the west where the real danger lay. It was the acting Navy Minister, Admiral P. P. Tyrtov, who supported the Korean alternative to Port Arthur, but he was overruled.[46]

Murav'ev's policy of consolidation might have succeeded had it not been for the Boxers. A miscellaneous group of anti-foreign zealots with ties to the secret societies and the Court, the Boxers began causing trouble in the spring of 1900 and by late May were terrorizing the area around Peking. Seeing their activities as a danger to his railroad, Witte was forced to call

for regular Russian troops to protect the Russian investment.[47] Just as the Boxer danger was becoming most acute, Murav'ev died, and that left Witte and the new Foreign Minister, Count V. N. Lamzdorf, to oppose the military who favored a more active course in China. In spite of some rather bellicose actions and statements by both Kuropatkin and General N. I. Grodekov, Commander of the Priamur Military District, Witte and Lamzdorf succeeded, and on August 12/25 the Russian government circulated a note inviting the other powers to pull their units back from Peking.[48] The problem then facing Russia was what to do with Manchuria.

Viewed from Tokyo, any Russian occupation of Manchuria was likely to threaten Korea. Both Komura Jutarō in St. Petersburg and Hayashi Gonsuke in Seoul foresaw a permanent Russian occupation of Manchuria and suggested that an agreement with Russia might be possible concerning Korea. Komura favored Man-Kan kōkan (exchange of Manchuria for Korea), but Hayashi suggested dividing Korea into spheres of influence.[49] The idea of a settlement in Korea must also have had some appeal in St. Petersburg because on July 19 the Russian Minister in Seoul approached Hayashi with a suggestion that followed somewhat along the lines of Hayashi's proposal to the Foreign Ministry.[50] On the same day the Russian Minister in Tokyo, Aleksandr Petrovich Izvol'skii, approached Itō Hirobumi with the

same idea.[51] The Prime Minister, Yamagata Aritomo, favored such an agreement, and on July 26 the Foreign Minister, Aoki Shūzō, instructed Komura to propose a division of spheres of influence in Korea. For some reason, however, Russia declined the Japanese offer.[52]

Perhaps the Russian refusal made Aoki fearful of Russian intentions in Korea. At any rate on August 27 he instructed his Minister in Berlin, Inoue Katsunosuke, to sound the German attitude on what actions might be forthcoming should Japan decide to take Korea into her sphere of influence. When Inoue reported back that Germany would observe absolute neutrality, Aoki, so the story goes, submitted a memorial to the Emperor, without Yamagata's knowledge, advocating a war with Russia. When the Emperor questioned Yamagata, the Prime Minister had no answer and was so embarrassed he resigned.[53]

The new Prime Minister, Itō Hirobumi, and his Foreign Minister, Katō Takaaki, preferred to let the existing agreements between Japan and Russia regarding Korea stand, but Russia soon took the initiative. Witte favored neutralization, and on January 7, 1901 Russia proposed just that to Japan. This time, the Japanese turned the Russians down, and the question of Korea slid into the background for a while.[54]

For St. Petersburg the problem in Manchuria was how to protect the Russian railroad. On October 27/November 9, 1900

Russian authorities in Manchuria signed an agreement with local Chinese officials that provided for the stationing of Russian troops in Manchuria, the disarming of the Chinese, and the leveling of Chinese fortresses.[55] However the basis for Russian administration in Manchuria lay in what was called the "Fundamentals of Russian Government Control." Originally drafted by Kuropatkin in 15 articles, the document provided for the temporary occupation of Manchuria to maintain peace and to guarantee China's fulfillment of her obligations respecting the railway under construction. When Witte got the draft he began adding articles that would make the railroad independent of the Russian occupation authorities.[56]

This only heightened the difference between Kuropatkin and Witte. The former saw the tasks of Russian diplomacy as the completion of the railroads under construction in Manchuria and their protection after completion. He did not believe they could be protected without Russian troops stationed in Manchuria. Witte, on the other hand, favored a gradual withdrawal of Russian troops, and at the same time proposed two separate agreements with China. The first, between the two governments, would effect a political settlement. The second, between the CER Company and the Chinese government, would greatly expand Russian economic rights in China.[57]

However in the final draft of the proposal for a special

agreement, Lamzdorf softened Russian demands. Gone was Witte's projected agreement between the CER and the Chinese government. Instead six of the 14 articles dealt in some form with the railroad. Russia was to be allowed to retain troops in Manchuria temporarily, and the Chinese government would be allowed no armies there until the railroad had been completed. Moreover no foreigners would be given concessions to mineral or railroad rights in the provinces bordering on Russia without Russian consent. The Chinese government was pledged to enter into an agreement with the CER for compensation for losses suffered during the rebellion, compensation which could be in the form of new or revised concessions. Finally the CER was to be allowed to lay a railroad from some point on its main line or its southern branch to the Chinese wall in the direction of Peking. China, of course, rejected or objected to many of these demands, and even though Witte gave in to practically all of the Chinese revisions, negotiations were broken off in March 1901.[58]

The following summer Lamzdorf suggested to Witte and Kuropatkin that the Russian government must decide whether to keep all Manchuria or only a province of it. If Russia decided to stay, could she afford to administer the new territory? and was she prepared to fight Japan who might begin a war in hopes of acquiring advantages? On the other hand, if Russia decided to evacuate, should the withdrawal of troops begin simultaneously

with, or immediately after, the restoration of the Shanhaikuan railroad to China?[59]

Witte's position was that the Russian government's role should be limited solely to protecting the CER. The military administration should be abolished and the political occupation renounced. Should Japan then demand Korea, the issue might be made an international question, but Russia should, on no account, regard a Japanese seizure of Korea as a casus belli. The consequences of a war with Japan would not be offset by any advantages gained in Manchuria.[60]

Kuropatkin proposed withdrawal to a position along a line stretching from Bodune to Hun-ch'un in northern Manchuria. The territory between this line and the Amur River would be annexed subsequently by Russia. He did not think Japan would object since her interests were in Korea and southern Manchuria.[61] Witte's plan was the one accepted, and it called for the evacuation of Manchuria over a period of three years.[62]

While this decision was being considered, Witte may have attempted to begin negotiations with Japan through the Minister in St. Petersburg, Chinda Sutemi, on the neutralization of Korea and Japanese recognition of Russia's predominance in Manchuria. However if Witte did make such a proposal, Chinda never telegraphed it to Tokyo.[63]

The Boxer Protocol was signed in September, and Russia

began negotiations again with China on a Manchurian agreement, this time on the initiative of Li Hung-chang. Talks were carried on in parallel, between the governments and between the Russo-Chinese Bank and the Chinese government. However Li appears not to have been serious, and when he saw the Bank's proposal on September 24/October 7, he immediately rejected it. The powers knew about the Russian proposal and pressured the Chinese government to refuse it. When Li died in November, negotiations were broken off and not resumed until spring.[64]

While St. Petersburg was considering its course of action, Japan was doing the same. In March 1901 Katō offered Itō three alternatives: fight, wait, or Man-Kan kōkan.[65] A month later Yamagata submitted a memorial in which he foresaw a permanent Russian occupation of Manchuria based on the CER and Russian rights in Port Arthur and Dalnyi. Should Russia keep expanding south, a break with Japan was inevitable. To prepare for such an eventuality Yamagata favored Japan's joining the Anglo-German alliance then being discussed in London.[66]

Great Britain began to consider an alliance with Japan seriously in July when the British Minister to Japan, Sir Claude M. MacDonald, returned to London. However the first formal proposal was not made until November 6, after the new Japanese Foreign Minister, Komura Jutarō, had assumed office. The Japanese counter-proposal was submitted on December 12.

It was delayed so long because it was necessary to consult all the genro, because Katsura was out of Tokyo part of the time and because Komura was ill.[67]

Japanese opinion was divided. At least two of the genro, Itō and Inoue, preferred an agreement with Russia to one with Great Britain. In fact Itō was in St. Petersburg in December talking with Lamzdorf and Witte. During the discussions Itō attempted to revise the existing agreements (that gave both countries the right to send troops to suppress disorders in Korea) so as to give Japan commercial, political and military freedom of action in Korea, without, however, endangering its independence. Lamzdorf objected that Russia was doing all the conceding, and when he submitted a counter-draft an article had been added that called for Japanese recognition of Russia's predominant rights in all Chinese territory bordering Russia. These negotiations came to naught, and Japan went ahead with the British alliance which was signed on January 30, 1902.[68]

In Japan the debate over the railroad by the public continued. The Asahi was optimistic and disputed those who believed the railroad had been built for military purposes.[69] Even Chinda Sutemi, just returned from St. Petersburg to become Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs, said it was "impossible to endorse the forecast that the line will be used for military and tourist purposes only. It will doubtless become an important commercial

route, and Japan should plan accordingly."[70] Nakata Keigi favored Man-Kan kōkan so that Japan could use the Russian railroad to open the Siberian market.[71] That Japan must make use of the railroad was widely recognized. The former French Foreign Minister, Gabriel Hanotaux, told Kurino on January 23, 1902 that it was almost as if the railroad had been laid for Japan's use.[72]

Russian intentions were also the subject of a debate. At one end of the spectrum stood Tomizu Hirondo (Baikal hakase), who favored war with Russia before the Trans-Siberian was completed.[73] At the other end were men like Tani Kanjō, the conservative member of the House of Peers, who preferred to move south and let Russia alone in Manchuria.[74] In between there was a whole range of opinion. Terao Tōru, who later became famous with Tomizu as one of the Six and Seven Professors, felt the problem should be solved by diplomacy, but if that failed Japan might resort to war.[75] Sassa Tomofusa, one of the founders of the anti-Russian Kokumin dōmeikai (People's League) thought Russia should be made to withdraw from Manchuria in accordance with the principles of the Anglo-German agreement and the "open door" policy.[76] On the other hand, Ōtori Keisuke, a former Minister to Korea, suggested Japan reform the Chinese army, renew China's nationalist spirit, and let her (with Japan's support) fight Russia.[77] Shimada Saburō, a Diet member, was

not so optimistic. He stated that there was no way to maintain the integrity of China if the Chinese themselves could not or would not do it, but he felt both China and Manchuria should be open to the west.[78] Koezuka Ryū, another Diet member and former newspaper man, did not trust the Russians and suggested what amounted to a neutralization of south Korea.[79] Taiyō felt the railroad would add little to Russian strength in the Far East and proposed that Japan develop internally and expand peacefully from Korea into north China.[80]

The adventurers were also active. In 1899 one of their number became alarmed at Russian efforts to turn Harbin into a western city. He reported his findings to Honda Kumataro, Secretary of the Japanese Legation in Peking, and to Tanabe Yasunosuke, of the Tōa dōbunkai. Shortly afterward the Japanese military attache in Peking, Captain Morita Toshitō, travelled to Harbin. He came away with the impression that Russia was trying to make it the center of a large empire that would include all of Manchuria and eastern Siberia. Tanabe, for his part, tried to rally the Tōa dōbunkai to an anti-Russian position but failed.[81]

Another of the adventurers, Nezu Hajime, returned from China in 1900, only to be called to active duty by the army. While serving on the General Staff he read Morita's report and became more convinced than ever of the Russian threat

in Manchuria. He then made a study of the current status of Russian military and naval strength in the Far East, how soon those units could be reinforced, the current strength of Japan, Japan's financial condition, and estimates for war. He even developed a plan for sending troops to Korea.[82]

The activists made other attempts to rally public opinion behind a more positive policy. On September 24, 1900 the Kokumin dōmeikai (People's League) was formed to promote the idea of "upholding Korea" and "maintaining the integrity of China." Its principal leader was Prince Konoe Atsumarō, German-educated, a member of the House of Peers and very anti-Russian. Members of the society travelled around the country giving speeches and rousing public opinion to a war with Russia. When Russia announced it had made an agreement with China to withdraw from Manchuria the society disbanded.[83]

Another group of men also formed the Kokuryūkai (Black Dragon, really Amur River, Society). The chief instigator was Uchida Ryōhei. The Society published a Report and later changed this to a magazine called Kokuryū. Both carried information on events in China, Korea and Russia. The magazine was so vehement in its attempt to awaken the populace to the Russian threat that the government suppressed it. The Society also made maps. In April 1901 a map of Manchuria was published, based on the work of the adventurers, that included

projected railroads and the resources in the railroad zone. This was followed one month later by the Rokoku tōhō keiei bumen zenzu (Map of Russian Development in the Orient), showing Russian aggression in the Far East. It was based on a secret Russian map acquired by Uchida and on observations of the adventurers. Supposedly it was published with the aid of the Foreign Ministry.[84]

For Russia, the Anglo-Japanese alliance acted as a warning bell. An agreement was reached with China on April 8, 1902 that provided for the withdrawal of Russian troops from Manchuria. The evacuation was to be carried out over a period of a year and a half in three equal stages with the first withdrawal scheduled for October 8. Witte himself also became active. By July he had organized the Manchurian Mining Company as a branch of the Russo-Chinese Bank to acquire as many concessions as possible and hold them until they could be developed.[85]

In the fall of 1902 he made a tour of the Far East and returned with the impression of a definite lack of unity in Russian policy. The Army feared the Chinese, the Navy the Japanese, and the engineers just wanted to get on with construction of their railroad. As a result, Russia's relations with both China and Japan were deteriorating. To alleviate such a condition Witte proposed that Russia should evacuate Manchuria in accordance with the treaty. Then if China could not keep order, Russia

could move back in and establish a regular Russian administration. His feelings on Korea had not changed. It was still not worth a war. Before Russia could fight Japan, China would have to be won back over to friendship; the CER must be completed, as must the circumbaikal line; and the mid-Siberian section of the Trans-Siberian strengthened. Moreover fortifications at Port Arthur would also have to be finished, a job the Navy estimated would take 10 years, and Vladivostok would have to be improved.[86]

Soon after Witte returned, the first of a series of conferences was held in St. Petersburg to determine Russian policy. At the first two conferences on January 11/24 and January 25/February 7, 1903, Kuropatkin, with the support of the Russian Minister to Korea, Aleksandr Ivanovich Pavlov, proposed a Russian occupation of northern Manchuria in order to protect the railroad; the securing of a land route from Blagoveshchensk to Tsitsihar, the capital of Heilungkiang province; and the postponement of the second stage of the evacuation scheduled for April 8. He insisted that if the first were not done he would have to press for the rapid construction of a railroad along the Amur in Russian territory.

Kuropatkin was opposed by the Minister to China, Pavel Mikhailovich Lessar, and Witte. They argued that the cost of occupation would prove exorbitant, that the railroad guards could

protect the railroad and that the Chinese government could maintain order.

The conference rejected Kuropatkin's proposal, but did accept some of his revisions to Lessar's draft agreement that was to be presented to the Chinese government for negotiation.[87] The Russian demands were handed to the Chinese on April 18, 1903 and were promptly rejected. Generally they would have prevented China from alienating territory evacuated by Russia to any other power; forbidden her to open any new towns; or appoint foreigners to administrative posts. Others would have given Russia special rights in Newchwang, allowed her to construct a telegraph line between Port Arthur and Mukden and An-tung, and preserved the administrative structure in Mongolia.[88]

The third and fourth conferences in April and May discussed the question of a timber concession on the Korean side of the Yalu River that stretched all the way across the northern frontier from the mouth of the Yalu to the mouth of the Tiumen rivers. It had been acquired by Iulius Ivanovich Briner, a Russian of Swiss origin, in 1896 and there had been sporadic attempts to exploit it, but little had actually been accomplished. In the spring of 1903 there was talk of combining this Korean concession with two concessions that had been obtained dubiously on the Chinese side of the river to form a defensive "shield." If such a "shield" did not prevent a Russo-Japanese clash, it would at least make

a joint Sino-Japanese attack on the CER more difficult.[89] Out of these conferences came the Russian Lumber Company of the Far East, a company under the Emperor's patronage and permitted to employ Russian soldiers as guards to protect its operations.[90]

Kuropatkin was absent from the fourth conference. He had already left for the Far East. In early June he visited Japan, and in an interview with the Prime Minister, Katsura Tarō, told him that the Trans-Siberian had been built originally to open Siberia. Then a branch had been run across Manchuria and another to Port Arthur and Dalnyi. Although he had disagreed with the latter two, there was nothing to be done now. Russia had already spent 1.3 billion rubles on the railroads, and he desired a peaceful settlement of differences very much in order to protect Russia's investment. When Kuropatkin asked Katsura that the problems of the Trans-Siberian and the Chinese Eastern be thought of separately, the Prime Minister thought the request extremely selfish.[91]

Kuropatkin also assured the Japanese Foreign Minister, Komura Jutarō, that Russia was acting deliberately in Manchuria since the matter of the railroad and the withdrawal of the troops was a complicated one. Komura agreed they were two different matters, but expressed concern that a Russian occupation would be a constant threat to Korea and might begin the partition of China. Kuropatkin assured him Russia had no ambitions

in Korea.[92]

After leaving Japan, Kuropatkin went on to Port Arthur for a series of conferences with officials stationed in the Far East. Once again Kuropatkin's proposal that northern Manchuria be occupied was rejected. The Minister of War then presented 17 demands to be made on China to ensure the Russian position. These were so far-reaching many were rejected out of hand, and the ones that were accepted were whittled down still further later. On September 6 only five of the original 17 were presented to China. They called for (1) the non-alienation to foreigners of territories restored to China; (2) retention of Russian military posts on the Sungari and Amur rivers; (3) retention of the same on the Tsitsihar-Blagoveshchensk road; (4) exclusion of foreign investment from north China; and (5) protection of the commercial interests of the CER.[93] Simultaneously the conference agreed to evacuate Manchuria in accordance with the treaty of April 8. However to strengthen Russia's position, it also decided to spend 30 million rubles immediately and six million a year for the next few years.

Concerning Korea, the conference felt that the occupation by either Japan or Russia was undesirable. However should Japan, using as a pretext Russian activity in Manchuria, seize that country, Russia should only protest and not take any measures that might lead to war.

The Yalu concession occasioned some heated debate. Both Kuropatkin and the Commander in Chief in the Far East, Admiral Evgenii Ivanovich Alekseev, wanted all army men on active duty forbidden to participate in guarding the concession, and the proposal carried over the objections of those involved in the scheme. This was done to give the enterprise a private character, since Japan was pointing to the army men as a sign that the company was an official venture. Both Kuropatkin and Alekseev observed that in comparison with Japan, Russia was unprepared to fight a war. Alekseev also added that according to his information Russia and Japan stood on the brink already and advised that Russia treat with extreme care all activities that might hasten a rupture.[94] Kuropatkin and Alekseev got their way, and all army men were removed. Thereafter the company began to hire anyone it could, Manchurian bandits included, to act as guards.

None of the Russian activity on the Yalu went unnoticed by the Japanese. The Foreign Ministry and the Army both had men in Uiju keeping watch on the Russians.[95] Finally on April 21 the Japanese government, as Lamzdorf had done at the second Russian conference, decided to negotiate. Meeting at Murin'an, Yamagata's villa in Kyoto, Itō, Yamagata, Katsura and Komura resolved that Japan's future policy vis-a-vis Russia should involve a Japanese protest if Russia failed to evacuate

Manchuria as promised; direct negotiations on the Korean question; and a recognition of each other's preponderant rights in Manchuria and Korea (Man-Kan kōkan).[96]

Meanwhile the Chief of the General Staff, General Ōyama Iwao, drew up a memorial based on the reports of men investigating the situation on the Yalu. Called the "Memorial on the Replenishment of Military Preparedness," it was submitted to the Emperor on May 12 and advised that the army be brought to combat readiness.[97] The division chiefs of the General Staff compiled their own estimate on June 8 (to be discussed in the following chapter) that was more favorable for military action against Russia.[98]

This optimistic estimate produced in Ōyama and his Vice-Chief, Tamura Iyozō, not a readiness to go to war, but a rather cautious memorial of June 22 entitled "Opinion Regarding the Solution of the Korean Problem." In it Ōyama pointed out the strategic significance of Korea to Japan and the threat Russia posed. Considering the rapidity with which Russia had moved into the Liaotung peninsula after the Sino-Japanese War, Ōyama declared that if Japan just stood back and watched, within three or four years Russia would occupy Korea. His solution, however, was to recommend not action, but negotiations on the principle of Man-Kan kōkan while Japan still had a military superiority.[99]

The next day an Imperial Conference met to consider the conditions on which negotiations should begin. Present were Itō, Yamagata, Ōyama, Matsukata Masayoshi, Inoue Kaoru, Katsura, Komura, the Navy Minister Yamamoto Gonnohyoe, and the Army Minister Terauchi Masatake. The Conference debated a memorandum prepared by Komura that called for negotiations based on the principles of (1) preservation of the independence and territorial integrity of China and Korea and equal opportunity in both countries; (2) mutual recognition of their respective rights in Manchuria and Korea and the necessity to take all measures to protect those rights; (3) mutual recognition of the right to send troops to their respective area in case of disturbance or threat to their rights, with the proviso that such troops be removed as soon as their objective had been attained; (4) Japan to have a special right to advise and assist Korea in carrying out an internal reform.[100]

These were embodied in the Japanese proposal of August 12, 1903. Of interest is the fact that Japan was willing to recognize the "special interests of Russia in railway enterprises in Manchuria," thus defining rather narrowly Russian interests as a whole. Moreover Japan wanted Russian agreement not to oppose "the possible projection of the Korean railway into South Manchuria and its juncture there with the Chinese Eastern and Shanhaikuan-Newchwang railways." To this, of course, Russia

would not agree. In her counter-proposal, Russia suggested a neutral zone in Korea north of the 39th parallel.

In the second exchange Japan offered to recognize Russia's "special interests" in Manchuria. The words "in railway enterprises" had been dropped. This time Russia agreed not to "impede the connection of the Korean and Chinese Eastern railways when these railways shall have been extended to the Yalu." Japan also proposed a neutral zone, but one extending 50 kilometers on either side of the Yalu. Russia rejected this, and once again proposed the area north of the 39th parallel. In later exchanges Japan dropped the neutral zone entirely, but Russia preferred to retain it, however the article concerning the connection of the Korean and Manchurian railways was left intact.[101]

Even while negotiations were in progress Russia and Japan seemed to be growing further and further apart. On the whole it was the Russian position in Manchuria that was the sticking point. St. Petersburg would not pull out without some guarantee for its railroad, and its very presence in Manchuria was viewed as a threat to Korea by Japan. At the same time the Russian leaders were not willing to give up anything in Korea. Why should they? They were already in Manchuria, but the Japanese were not in Korea. Any recognition they could get from Japan, would only be recognition of the de facto situation, while a

concession in Korea would be substantial, since both countries still had the right to send troops in case of disorders.

Negotiations had been suggested by both sides but nothing was actually done until the summer of 1903. Itō had tried to come to an agreement, but had been out-voted by those in Tokyo who favored an Anglo-Japanese alliance. That had only made it easier for Japan to withstand Russia. Thus relations began to deteriorate.

Nor had an increasing trade been a strong enough force to pull the two countries back together. Here again Russia had hurt Japan by making the European duty applicable on the Pacific coast, and somehow the Trans-Siberian had just never brought about that rush of trade that many in Japan had anticipated. For one thing it had not had time to. It never really opened until the beginning of 1903. Thus with no large economic stake in the mutual trade, there was nothing to keep the countries from drifting further apart.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Ishizawa, pp. 106-107.

[2]Asahi, Nov. 30, 1894; May 26, 1897, second edition; June 4, 1897, first edition.

[3]Asahi, March 3, 1902. Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 150 (Feb. 15, 1900), p. 170.

[4]Takashima, 37.

[5]Ibid., 38. Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 234 (July 15, 1902), pp. 16-18.

[6]Ishizawa, pp. 108-109. Asahi, July 7, 1896. Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 27 (Aug. 5, 1896), pp. 15-19.

[7]Asahi, July 8, 1896. Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 58 (June 25, 1897), pp. 18-19; No. 150 (Feb. 15, 1900), p. 170; No. 288 (Dec. 5, 1903), pp. 42-43.

[8]Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 43 (Jan. 25, 1897), pp. 17-18.

[9]Ibid., No. 195 (May 15, 1901), pp. 4-6.

[10]Commercial Relations, 1902, I, 1088.

[11]Great Britain. Foreign Office. Diplomatic and Consular Reports. Miscellaneous Series. No. 533, Report on the Trans-Siberian Railway by Mr. Cooke, British Commercial Agent in Russia (July, 1900), p. 14.

[12]JFMA. Tel. 1899, reel 24, p. 1517, Sugimura to Aoki, Sept. 12; p. 2064, Aoki to Sugimura, Sept. 16; p. 1541, Sugimura to Aoki, Sept. 18; p. 2079, Aoki to Sugimura, Sept. 21; p. 1597, Sugimura to Aoki, Oct. 3; pp. 2179-2180, Aoki to Sugimura, Nov. 7. 1900, reel 25, p. 9, Sugimura to Aoki, Jan. 3; p. 34, Sugimura to Aoki, Jan. 11. reel 26, p. 1961, Komura to Aoki, July 28. For regulations see Kampō, Nov. 9, 1899.

[13]Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 168 (Aug. 15, 1900), pp. 2-4. Also Inagaki Nobutarō in Nihonjin, No. 153 (Dec. 20, 1901), pp. 17-21.

[14]Asahi, May 4, 1901. [15]Kampō, Nov. 28, 1900.

[16]Kampō, Feb. 28, 1901. [17]Kampō, June 18, 1900.

[18]Kampō, Nov. 10, 1901. [19]Kampō, March 27, 1900.

[20]Asahi, May 7, 1902.

[21]Asahi, Dec. 28, 1901. Kampō, Oct. 24, 1901.

[22]Asahi, March 21, 1902. Japanese merchants in Vladivostok were dismayed by these two men. They feared it would hurt trade with Nanao, where the two men came from, and with Japan in general. The TōA bōeki dōmeikai of Toyama decided to strike the two from its roles and ask the Nanao customs authorities to examine goods leaving Japan.

[23]Asahi, March 25, 1902.

[24]For example see Futatsubashi Ken's report in Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 260 (Feb. 25, 1903), pp. 12-14. Futatsubashi had been the Commercial Agent in Vladivostok, 1889-1900.

[25]Shimomura Kō in Gaikō jihō, V, 9 (Sept., 1902), 101-109.

[26]Glinskii, pp. 234-241. Asahi, Oct. 25, 1902.

[27]Asahi, Oct. 25, 1902. [28]Asahi, Oct. 29, 1902.

[29]Asahi, Nov. 30, 1902.

[30]Gaikō jihō, V, 12 (Dec., 1902), 61-74, 75-76.

[31]No. 253 (Dec. 15, 1902), p. 34.

[32]IX, 1 (Jan. 1, 1903), 20-21.

[33]JFMA. Tel. 1902, reel 33, p. 1509, Kurino to Komura, Oct. 29; p. 1527, same, Nov. 2; p. 1558, same, Nov. 9; 1903, reel 35, p. 97, Kurino to Komura, Jan. 28; p. 152, same, Feb. 17.

[34]Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 168 (Aug. 15, 1900), pp. 24-25; No. 234 (June 15, 1902), pp. 16-18; No. 260 (Feb. 25, 1903), pp. 4-6.

[35]Ibid., No. 104 (Oct. 15, 1898), p. 36. Asahi, June 21, 1895; Aug. 23, 25, 26, 1897.

[36]Asahi, Sept. 4, 1895.

[37]Asahi, Sept. 4; Nov. 29, 1895; Feb. 27, 1897, first edition. Kampō, Aug. 8, 1899.

[38]Gaikō jihō, V, 12 (Dec., 1902), 61-74. Kampō, Aug. 25, 1902; June 16, 1903.

[39]Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 212 (Nov. 5, 1901), p. 34.

[40]Asahi, Nov. 13, 1901. [41]Asahi, Nov. 30, 1901.

[42]Asahi, Aug. 18, 1902. [43]Kampō, Sept. 26, 1902.

[44]Japan. Ministry of Finance. Dai Nihon gaikoku bōeki nenpyō (Tokyo, annual); Kampō, Aug. 6, 1903. The Bōeki nenpyō breaks down Japanese imports and exports by commodity, but not by port.

[45]Glinskii, pp. 90-95.

[46]M. Pokrovskii, ed., "Tsarskaia diplomatiia o zadachakh na vostoke v 1900 gg," Krasnyi arkhiv, XVIII (1926), 3-25.

[47]Glinskii, pp. 110-115.

[48]Ibid., pp. 118-119. Also see Witte's comments in his letters to his friend D. S. Sipiagin, B. A. Romanov, ed., "Pis'ma S. Iu. Vitte k D. S. Sipiaginu," Krasnyi arkhiv, XVIII (1926), 32-41.

[49]NGB, XXXIII, bessatsu, Hoku-Shin jihen, I, No. 372, Komura to Aoki, June 25; No. 388, same, June 30; No. 437, same, July 26, 1900. II, No. 1320, Hayashi to Aoki, July 25; No. 1324, same, July 18, 1900 (Hereafter NGB, Hoku-Shin jihen). Also NGB, XXXIII, No. 522, Komura to Aoki, July 22, 1900. JFMA. Tel. 1900, reel 26, pp. 1572-1573, Komura to Aoki, July 6, 1900.

[50]NGB, Hoku-Shin jihen, II, No. 1326, Hayashi to Aoki, July 19, 1900.

[51]Konoe Atsumaro nikki, III, 247. Kawamura Kazuo, "Aoki gaishō no tō-Ro no jōsō no haikei," Gaikō jihō, No. 1067

(Sept., 1969), pp. 34-38. In TSSK, I, 704-705, Izvol'skii is called Rosen, but Rosen left Japan on July 6. It is not surprising that Izvol'skii would make such a proposal. Both Sugimura and Komura had reported from St. Petersburg that he would come with a conciliatory attitude and try to arrive at an amicable settlement of any problem that arose in connection with Korea. JFMA. Tel. 1900, reel 28, p. 5021, Sugimura to Aoki, May 11; p. 5369, Komura to Aoki, June 21.

[52]Oyama, Ikensho, pp. 255-264. Only the summaries of the telegrams with the instructions have been preserved. See NGB, XXXIII, p. 705. Also Ian Nish, "Japan's Indecision during the Boxer Disturbances," Journal of Asian Studies, XX, 4 (1961), 456-461.

[53]NGB, XXXIII, No. 526, Aoki to Inoue, Aug. 27; No. 528, Inoue to Aoki, Sept. 15; No. 529, same, Sept. 17, 1900. This story is based principally on Komatsu Midori, Meiji shi jitsu gaikō hiwa (Tokyo, 1927), pp. 209-215 and Itō den, III, 466. No trace of the memorial remains, even in Aoki's papers, but Sakane Yoshihisa, "Aoki Shūzō ron," Kokusai seiji. Nihon gaikō shi kenkyū. Gaikō shidōsha ron, No. 33 (1966), pp. 10-26 accepts it, and so does Kawamura Kazuo in a series of articles, "Aoki gaishō no tō-Ro no jōsō no haikei," Gaikō jihō, No. 1067 (Sept., 1969), pp. 32-38; "Aoki gaishō no tai-Ro kyōkō seisaku no haikei--toku ni Nichi-Ei dōmei no hattan ni kanren shite," Ibid., No. 1069 (Nov.-Dec., 1969), pp. 36-41; "Aoki gaishō no tai-Ro kyōkō seisaku no haikei (hoi)," Ibid., No. 1073 (1970), pp. 42-45.

[54]NGB, Hoku-Shin jihen, II, No. 1363, Izvol'skii to Katō, Nov. 2, 1900. XXXIV, No. 399, Katō to Chinda, Jan. 17, 1901. "Pis'ma Vitte," 41-42, letter earlier than Sept. 18/Oct. 1, 1900.

[55]Romanov, pp. 427-428. [56]Ibid., pp. 191-193.

[57]Ibid., pp. 201-206. A. Popov, ed., "Bokserskoe vosstanie," Krasnyi arkhiv, XIV (1926), 41-42.

[58]Ibid., 209-216.

[59]"On the Eve of the Russo-Japanese War," CSPSR, XIX (1935), 234-238.

[60]Glinskii, pp. 174-175. Romanov, pp. 217-218, 222.

[61]Ibid., pp. 175-176.

[62]A. A. Polotsov, "Iz dnevnika A. A. Polotsova," Krasnyi arkhiv, III (1923), 103.

[63]Romanov, p. 224. This is based on a conversation between Hayashi and Eckardstein in London.

[64]Ibid., pp. 229-232.

[65]NGB, XXXIV, No. 174, Katō to Itō, March 12, 1901.

[66]Oyama, Ikensho, pp. 264-266.

[67]Ian Nish, The Anglo-Japanese Alliance: The Diplomacy of Two Island Empires 1894-1907 (London, 1966), pp. 143-203.

[68]NGB, XXXV, No. 26, Itō's report, May 16, 1902. Itō's trip is also discussed in Ian Nish, "Korea, Focus of Russo-Japanese Diplomacy, 1898-1903," Asian Studies, IV, 1 (1966), 72-77, and John White, The Diplomacy of the Russo-Japanese War (Princeton, 1964), pp. 84-86. Russian documents may be found in "On the Eve," CSPSR, XIX (1935), 251-267.

[69]Asahi, Oct. 2, 1901.

[70]JWM, Nov. 30, 1901.

[71]Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 192 (April 15, 1901), pp. 11-14.

[72]Hiratsuka Atsushi, Shishaku Kurino Shinichirō den (Tokyo, 1942), pp. 281-282.

[73]Nihonjin, No. 131 (Jan. 20, 1901), pp. 10-14. The preceding year Kemuyama Sentarō had written a series of articles describing the history of Russian aggression in the Amur region, Gaikō jihō, III, 4 (April, 1900), 77-82; 5 (May, 1900), 79-88; 6 (June, 1900), 75-84; 8 (Aug., 1900), 87-96.

[74]Taiyō, VII, 7 (June 5, 1901), 73-76.

[75]Ibid., 5 (May 5, 1901), 74-75.

[76]Ibid., 76-78.

[77]Ibid., 73-74.

[78]Ibid., 75-76.

[79]Ibid., 7 (June 5, 1901), 14-19.

[80]Ibid., 2-6.

[81]TSSK, I, 697-701.

[82]Ibid., 701-704, 706-707. TōA dōbun shoin koyū dōsōkai, Sanshū Nezu sensei den (Tokyo, 1930), pp. 274-289.

[83]Ibid., 707-713. Also see Okamoto Shumpei, The Japanese Oligarchy and the Russo-Japanese War (New York, 1970), pp. 58-59.

[84]Ryōhei den, pp. 246-250. Okamoto, pp. 61-62.

[85]Romanov, pp. 263-265.

[86]Glinskii, pp. 204-217. White, pp. 25-30. Andrew Malozemoff, Russian Far Eastern Policy 1881-1904 (Berkeley, 1958), pp. 200-201.

[87]"Pervye shagi," 110-124. Glinskii, pp. 271-275. Romanov, pp. 289-291. Concerning the building of the Amur railroad, the Asahi editorialized on Aug. 8, 1902 that there was no doubt it would be built. About two weeks before this conference the paper carried a report from the Priamurskiia Vedomosti, the official organ of the Priamur Governor-General, that officials in the Far East had been agitating for the construction of the Amur line. These men cited the danger to the CER from Chinese settlement and the ease with which the line could be attacked in case of a war with Japan. Asahi, Jan. 26, 1903. Kuropatkin claims he got the Emperor's agreement that a railroad should be built between Sretensk and Khabarovsk. A. N. Kuropatkin, "Dnevnik A. N. Kuropatkina," Krasnyi arkhiv, II (1922), 50, entry for Aug. 5/18, 1903.

[88]JFM. Nichi-Ro kōshō shi (Tokyo, 1969), part 1, pp. 342-343.

[89]White, pp. 32-46. Romanov, "Kontsessiia na Ialu," Russkoe proshloe, No. 1 (1923), pp. 87-108; also his Russia, pp. 268-286.

[90]White, pp. 54-56. Glinskii, pp. 277-282.

[91]Tokutomi Iichirō, Kōshaku Katsura Tarō den (Tokyo, 1913), II, 123-127.

[92]JFM. Komura gaikō shi (Tokyo, 1953), I, 312-313.

[93]Nichi-Ro kōshō shi, pt. 1, pp. 346-348.

[94]Glinskii, pp. 292-309. Romanov, p. 462, fn. 208. White, pp. 67-73.

[95]Sugawara Takamitsu, "Japanese Interests in Korea and the Yalu Issue, 1903-1904," M.A. Thesis, University of Hawaii, 1963. Also NGB, XXXVI/I, Nos. 400-627, covering the period March-December 1903 and describing Russian activity along the Korean border.

[96]Okamoto, pp. 69-71. Itō den, III, 582-584. Tokutomi, Katsura den, II, 117-122.

[97]Ono Sanenobu, Gensui Kōshaku Ōyama Iwao (Tokyo, 1935), p. 631.

[98]Tani Toshio, Kimitsu Nichi-Ro senshi (Tokyo, 1966), pp. 83-84. Okamoto, pp. 72-76.

[99]Ono, Ōyama, pp. 631-633.

[100]Komura gaikō shi, I, 322-324. Katsura claimed both he and Komura were resolved to go to war even before the beginning of negotiations because they realized that the talks would most likely fail, Tokutomi, Katsura den, II, 158-163.

[101]White, pp. 351-358.

PART THREE: RESOLUTION

CHAPTER VII. RAILROAD POLITICS

While the diplomats in Tokyo and St. Petersburg were struggling with the problems of Manchuria and Korea, the promoters of the Seoul-Pusan railroad were having trouble obtaining financing. Only when the Japanese government agreed to guarantee the interest on the capital were they able to proceed. Then in February and again in July 1903 the Russians made attempts to obtain a concession for the Seoul-Uiju railroad. This spurred the Japanese government into stepping up its aid to the Seoul-Pusan railroad company, while at the same time pressuring the Korean government to grant it and not Russia a concession for the northern line.

In Manchuria the Russians were hastening both the construction and reconstruction of the CER, and they watched closely the Japanese who had been drawn to the railroad zone by the economic opportunities offered there. Since Manchuria had not been opened the Japanese in the railroad zone were at the mercy of the Russians. As tensions increased the Japanese Army and Foreign Ministry began to show more interest in the Russian railroad, and by the fall of 1903 the Russians themselves were worried about the condition of the line and whether or not it could move the quantities of supplies that would be necessary in case

of war. This was also a major concern of the Japanese; this and the railroad's destruction.

Railroads in Korea

Construction of the Seoul-Pusan line was proceding slowly because of a lack of capital. So in the fall of 1901 Shibusawa and the others, after discussions with government officials, decided to try to attract some foreign investors. Shibusawa even made a trip to America and Europe, but returned empty-handed.[1] He complained that the frequent changes in the Japanese government hurt his company because the government's plan vis-a-vis Korea changed with every cabinet turnover.[2] He may have been partly justified. Yamagata and Katsura supported the railroad, but Itō, Inoue and Matsukata were more cautious. The former two feared international complications, and Matsukata was concerned with the effect on the treasury. However Itō's government fell the same month the company was finally established, and Katsura remained in power until 1906.

In the spring of 1903 Shibusawa decided that more financing was necessary. He asked for and got the government's guarantee on the interest and principal for loans totaling ¥10 million spread over 1903-05 and stock offerings totaling ¥7,322,000. However due to Japan's internal financial conditions the company decided it would not raise more than ¥4 million by a loan.

Consequently another effort was made to sell the remaining stock from the first and second offerings, some 64,316 shares. With these sold, the company asked for and received formal government permission in August to raise a loan of ¥4 million. This time Inoue Kaoru helped.[3]

In the fall of 1903 the situation in the Far East deteriorated steadily, and the Japanese government decided construction should be hastened on the Seoul-Pusan railroad. On December 2 the company regulations were changed making it mandatory to finish the line during 1905. On the 16th the Vice-Minister of Communications called in some of the officers and proposed yet another speed up. The officers debated the suggestion and accepted it. On the 24th Katsura, Yamagata, Terauchi Masatake, the Army Minister, and Itō met at Oiso to consult on the last set of proposals to be given to Russia. Here they recognized the necessity of hastening the construction of the railroad and made arrangements for the issuing of an extraordinary Imperial Ordinance concerning military funds. On the 28th two ordinances were issued that provided government funds for the railroad and in effect made a government take-over complete. The line was formally opened on May 25, 1905.[4]

The new Foreign Minister in Katsura Tarō's cabinet was a man well qualified to conduct his country's foreign policy. Komura Jutarō had served in Seoul, Washington, St. Petersburg and

Peking, and when he reached Tokyo in September he had a ten-year plan worked out. It consisted of nine points, but the one most important here is the one that dealt with the protection and development of foreign enterprises.

Komura believed that Japan should adopt a strong position vis-a-vis Russia and consequently felt that construction of the Seoul-Pusan railroad should be hastened. He was willing to give the necessary government guarantees to see that the line was finished within four to five years. At the same time he wanted to see railroads built from Pusan to Mokp'o and from Seoul to Uiju. Japan should either get the right to lay these two lines or to participate in them. Moreover an agreement should be reached with both the Chinese and Russian governments to allow the Seoul-Uiju line to be extended to Yingkow and linked with both the CER and the Shanhaikuan railroads. By doing this, Komura believed that Pusan or Masampo would become the final point for the continental line and Japan would have all the traffic in her hands.[5] Pursuant to this idea, Komura instructed Hayashi Gonsuke in Seoul to report quickly on the means and methods by which Japan might gain control of the Seoul-Uiju line and its present condition.[6]

Hayashi reported back that construction was being managed by Yi Yong-ik and the former Secretary of the French Legation, Le Fevere. Two French engineers were surveying the line,

but he thought the lack of capital would prevent construction. Yi said he was willing to reach an agreement with Japan concerning construction, and Le Fevere, for his part, had no objection to Japan's buying the contract to supply engineers and materials, but that matter was between the French and Korean governments. Hayashi felt it would be difficult to get the concession outright and suggested Japan supply money for a mortgage on part of the line. That way she could stipulate the gauge to be the same as on the Seoul-Pusan line and could fix the terms of beginning and completion of construction so that the line would pass to Japan if the agreement were not fulfilled.[7]

In February 1902 Hayashi suggested he negotiate on the following points: (1) if in the future at the time of construction of the Seoul-Uiju line, the Korean government needed money for part or all of the construction, it would turn to the Seoul-Pusan railroad company, another Japanese company, or a Japanese individual for a loan, (2) before construction began an agreement would be reached between the Korean government and the French company on the supplying of engineers and materials. Komura gave him the go-ahead.[8]

In May Hayashi reported that the Koreans were hesitant about accepting a foreign loan. They wanted to build it with their own money, and he did not think negotiations would progress very rapidly.[9] In September Komura proposed to Katsura and

the cabinet that out of the budget for expenditures in China and Korea, ¥300,000 be set aside to guarantee a loan for the Seoul-Pusan line. At the same time he emphasized the importance of the Seoul-Uiju line to Japan and the harm that would accrue should another company gain the concession for it. Korea could build the line with a ¥3 million loan from Japan. The Daiichi Bank could supply ¥2 million, and if the government provided the Bank another million, interest free, it could lend the Korean government ¥3 million at 5 or 6%.[10]

Negotiations began between the Bank and the Korean government, and by January 1903 a draft contract had been worked out. However it stipulated construction was to begin by July 1904, and the Koreans wanted more money. Komura wanted the period for beginning construction extended, but Hagiwara Shuichi, Chargé interim, felt it would be difficult to get an extension. He pointed out that the loan had fallen through the previous year because Japan had demanded as a condition the right to build the Seoul-Uiju railroad. The Koreans were becoming worried about increasing foreign influence, and consequently Hagiwara recommended working indirectly. Japan should lend Korea the money and stay in the background.[11]

While the Daiichi Bank and the Koreans were in the midst of negotiations, the Russian Minister asked the Korean government on February 16 to award Baron Gintsberg a concession to build

the Seoul-Uiju line, or if that was not possible to allow him to conclude a loan to supply the necessary capital for the line. When Hayashi asked the Russian Minister, Aleksandr Pavlov, whether or not he was acting under instructions from his government, Pavlov replied that he was not. He was merely forwarding Baron Gintsberg's request. Hayashi got the impression from his conversation with Pavlov that the Russian seemed to feel that with the Japanese position in Korea developing so rapidly, Russia could not remain idle. Hayashi did not believe this was a personal request. It might have started as one, but it had become a government demand. When the Russian Charge asked if the Japanese government intended to demand the concession, Hayashi replied "that in view of [the] preponderance of our commercial and industrial interests and of furthering our railway system in Korea it was of vital importance that [the] Seoul-Uiju line should be undertaken by us and especially its working should be put in our hands so that it may cooperate with the Seoul-Chemulpo and Fusan lines."[12]

After the Korean government refused the Russian request for a concession, the Japanese went to work with new vigor to obtain the right to loan Korea money for the construction of the railroad. Komura instructed Hayashi to work through the Korean company. After agreement with the Frenchman he was to cut off connections completely, to get the Korean government's

approval of the Japanese contract with the Korean railroad company, and get a five-year extension of the date for beginning construction, then set for July 1904.[13]

As relations between Japan and Russia grew more strained, the Asahi noted that the development of the Seoul-Pusan and Seoul-Uiju railroads was more necessary than ever before.[14] In Korea Hayashi was becoming worried. He felt that Russian activities on the Yalu were government sponsored and did not think Korea would have much chance of making Russia stop. So he suggested Japan seize the opportunity to expand her own interests. She could open the interior of the country. This together with the construction of the Seoul-Pusal railroad would allow her to develop the south. He also advocated openly demanding the Seoul-Uiju railroad. The Korean court would object, but Japan could claim it under the pretext of making north-south traffic flow more smoothly.[15] In his presentation to the Imperial Conference on June 23, 1903, Komura pointed out that for her own safety Japan could not allow any other power to control Korea. Therefore as a precautionary measure Japan should hasten the construction of the Seoul-Pusan railroad and get the right to construct the Seoul-Uiju line. By connecting these two with the Chinese Eastern Railroad and the Chinese railroads, Korea would become the final stop on the great east-west route. This proposal was embodied in the third article of

the proposals for negotiation with Russia.[16]

Then in July, after the Port Arthur Conferences, Pavlov told Yi Yong-ik that it had been informally decided at Port Arthur to try and get a concession for the Seoul-Uiju line. Due to Japanese pressure this attempt also failed, and an agreement was signed between the Korean company and the Japanese on September 8, 1903.[17] Even then Takeuchi Tsuna and the promoters of the Seoul-Pusan line were thinking of extending the Seoul-Uiju line on to Newchwang. In November he submitted a proposal to this effect to the Chinese Minister in Korea. The Minister agreed and forwarded the overture to Peking, but the war broke out before anything could be done. Ultimately the Seoul-Uiju line was built by the Japanese army and formally opened for traffic on April 3, 1906.[18]

Manchuria

The CER and Other Railroads. In Manchuria the Chinese Eastern Railroad needed some rebuilding after the Boxer Rebellion. Prior to the rebellion, 862 miles had been completed. Afterward only 265 remained. The roadbed had been entirely cut in many places; ties destroyed; rails and fastenings taken away. Almost all the stations and living quarters had been burned. Warehouses of materials had been plundered. A large part of the rolling stock had been destroyed and what had

survived needed major repairs.[19] Only the lines from the Ussuri frontier to Mu-ling (80 miles) and from Port Arthur to Hsiung-yueh-ch'eng (130 miles) had been protected, and work on them had continued without interruption. Work on those parts around Harbin was resumed immediately. By September all the line, except the T'ieh-ling-Sungari II section, had been occupied. In November the line from Harbin to Tsitsihar and from Liao-ling to Harbin was opened, and in December the section from Port Arthur to Mukden was ready.[20] Monetarily, Witte estimated the losses at 70 million rubles damage to the CER and 100 million rubles spent in suppressing the rebellion. When the final reparations agreement was signed with China, Russia received 28.97% of the total 450 million taels or about 184,084,021 rubles.[21]

On February 26, 1901 the section between Harbin and Nikol'sk was opened. The total distance was 414 miles, and trains would leave from each end three times a week. The trip was expected to take three days and nights. In July 1901 the southern branch of the CER was operating again, and in November the entire Chinese Eastern was opened to provisional traffic. However not until February 1903 did the line open to regular traffic.[22]

As might have been expected the need to use the Trans-Siberian to transport troops to the Far East during the Boxer Rebellion disrupted regular traffic on the railroad.

The mobilization and movement of the troops and their equipment, a poor harvest in a large part of Siberia, workers going into the Army and work on the railroad, all led to an eight-month backlog of grain and other freight stored at the stations along the track. Even in 1901 there was still a four to six month backlog.[23]

Of course the Anglo-Japanese alliance was bound to have some effect on the construction of the Trans-Siberian. A telegram from Irkutsk to Le Temps of Paris stated that since the publication of the Alliance work had been pushed forward feverishly. During the preceding three weeks neither passengers nor goods had been carried over a certain section of the line in order to hasten its construction. Only troops and war material were getting through.[24] On April 8, 1902 a Times' correspondent reported a conversation he had just had with a railroad engineer returned from the Far East. The engineer told him about the poor construction of the line in general and of the Transbaikal section in particular. On the latter section, during the Boxer Rebellion over 40 locomotives and scores of cars had been more or less wrecked by the poor ballasting and construction.

In a series of four articles on the history of the Trans-Siberian, Miyamoto Heikurō pointed out that in 1899 over 15.6 million rubles had been spent on the railroad and only 14 million rubles had been collected, a deficit of almost 1.6 million rubles.

He was not sure Russia could cope with the losses and felt freight rates would have to be reduced to attract more through traffic. However he did say that the real purpose of the railroad was not one year's profit and loss statement, but rather the opening of the Siberian market.[25]

Kawakami Toshihiko, Commercial Agent in Vladivostok, offered a much more complete report. He travelled over the CER as far as Manchouli in May 1902, and in doing so attempted to answer a series of thirteen questions submitted by the Vice-Chief of the General Staff. Of the thirteen questions, seven concerned the railroad. The General Staff wanted to know such things as the amount of rolling stock, the make-up and speed of the trains, and the state of work on various sections of the line. In addition to all this Kawakami also noted the shortage of good fuel on both the eastern section of the Trans-Siberian and Chinese Eastern Railroads. Local coal was usually of poor quality; consequently the company mixed it with better grades bought from Japan or elsewhere. Sometimes the trains even had to use firewood. Asked if he could obtain a map of the Ussuri, Kawakami replied that at present he could not get one because they were secret and closely guarded, but he thought he might be able to buy a piece at a time.[26]

By March 1903 the Siberian Railroad Committee estimated the Trans-Siberian alone to have cost over 377 million rubles

for construction. If the rolling stock was added, the cost rose to over 384 million rubles. To this one might also add the 94,320,660 rubles that had gone for improvements, the 10,321,028 for subsidiary work, and the 30,646,582 for immigrants. Altogether a total of 519,893,013 rubles spent by the Committee for some aspect, or in some connection with, the Trans-Siberian railroad.[27]

R. T. Greener, the American Commercial Agent in Vladivostok, didn't see much possibility for the Trans-Siberian to pay its own way. The sinking fund and the 4 1/2% interest on the capital invested totaled 34,750,000 rubles. Operating costs of 9,050 rubles per mile over a line of 5,146 miles came to 46,572,000 rubles. Together they totaled 81,322,000 rubles annually. Freight traffic would have to reach 400,000 metric tons to cover this sum and 166,000 tons just to cover operating expenses. Yet in 1898 the line had carried only 37,000 tons and in 1900 only 45,000. This two-year increase might have been greater had it not been for the troubles in China and the bad harvests in Siberia. Still, freight would have to increase ten times to cover full costs and about 3 1/2 times to cover operating costs alone.[28]

The Chinese Eastern Railroad remained the Russian touchstone in Manchuria. Although the Russian Army had been called in to protect it during the Boxer Rebellion, Witte was always

careful to give the enterprise a private character, at least formally. Here he differed with General P. L. Lobko, the State Controller. Lobko wanted the CER subject to his office just like all the other railroads in Russia. However Witte argued that this was contrary to the intention of the Siberian Railroad Committee when it had drawn up the company's regulations. In order to give the CER a private character, there must be as little government supervision as possible. Therefore the direction should be left with the Ministry of Finance. The Foreign Minister agreed with Witte. Lamzdorf said that the Foreign Ministry had always recognized the CER as a private enterprise and that to put it on the same basis as other Russian railroads, might give the Chinese government a pretext to make an interpretation unfavorable to Russia.[29]

However the Japanese were not fooled. As Segawa Asanoshin reported, although originally the CER was supposed to be a joint Russo-Chinese venture, everything was in Russian hands. Inside and outside the stations and all along the railroad the language was Russian and so was the currency. All those who worked for the CER, including the porters on the trains were Russian. Even the small children selling candy alongside the train preferred Russian to Chinese money.[30]

Manchuria was becoming more and more Russian, at least in the railroad zone. According to a report received in

March 1903, over the next five years Witte planned to send about 600,000 immigrants to the Maritime province and the CER zone.[31] Harbin itself was strictly a Russian city, and the Russians did not want foreigners there. Consequently Russian authorities hindered Japanese businessmen. On the other hand, Dalnyi was open to foreigners. It was the commercial port, and Port Arthur was the Russian naval base. The commercial languages were Russian, Chinese and English.[32] Trade at Dalnyi seemed to be increasing, at least once the CER began operating. In 1902 717 ships visited the port, and trade turnover reached 69,000 tons. The following year there were 792 ships with a turnover of 285,000 tons. Most of the imports were teas from China and the export grains from Manchuria. The press kept predicting that Dalnyi (far) would soon become "Lishnyi" (superfluous), but trade did pick up, not the least because of the way rates were structured on the CER.[33] During both of those years the CER also made a profit: 9.6 million rubles in 1902 and almost 16 million in 1903.[34]

In addition to the CER other Russian railroads were rumored or were actually under construction or projected. One of the most persistent rumors involved the Kiakhta-Peking railroad or some variant thereof. In 1893 Witte had accepted the proposal of the Buriat Mongol, Petr Aleksandrovich Badmaev, to build a line to the Chinese city of Lanchow-fu, but the Emperor

had vetoed it.[35] Then in 1898 Witte told the British Ambassador, Sir Nicholas O'Conor, that not only would a railroad be built to Lanchow-fu, but that he already had "minute details of the distance, cost of construction, etc."[36] Two years later rumors popped up in the Japanese press to the effect that China had refused to grant a concession to Russia to build the Kiakhta-Kalgan-Peking line only because of the pressure of the other powers, and this in spite of the fact that Russia had paid ¥3 million in bribes to Prince Ch'ing, Kang I, and Wang Shih-chun.[37] In 1902 rumors once again circulated that Russia was already surveying from both ends of the projected Kiakhta-Kalgan line, this time going via Urga, the capital of Mongolia.[38] However the Asahi doubted the truth of the rumors. The paper pointed out that Russia was having enough trouble with the CER, Port Arthur and Dalnyi. She couldn't afford another line.[39] The last report on a Russian railroad across Mongolia appears to have been in August, 1903. The Vladivostok paper, Vostochnyi Vestnik, carried a report from an Irkutsk paper that surveys for a railroad from Peking to Kiakhta via Urga had already been completed and that work would begin shortly.[40] No railroad was ever built, but just the rumors, coupled with Russian demands on the Chinese government that no lands along their mutual border be alienated in any form without Russian permission, could only have served to make the powers and Japan suspicious of

Russian motives.

Certainly part of Russian strategy was to build railroads to the major cities of Manchuria. The branch to Mukden, the birthplace of the Ch'ing dynasty, was completed in early 1902. A Russian diplomatic officer with the rank equal to a consul general was then stationed there. His headquarters was at the railroad station outside the city.[41]

In March 1902 construction on a branch to Kirin was set to begin and a contract was signed on June 28/July 11. In his report on his trip to the Far East, Witte raised the question of such a branch, pointing out that should complications arise in China it would be desirable to occupy all the principal cities. However after the withdrawal of her troops Russia would be permitted to maintain forces only in the railroad zone. Consequently a branch to Kirin with the station on a height commanding the city would be very desirable. The Vostochnyi Vestnik reported on January 25/February 7, 1903 that the CER had begun surveying a branch from K'uang-ch'eng-tzu, two miles north of Ch'ang-ch'un, to Kirin and that construction was expected to begin that spring. However the Russo-Japanese War broke out before it got under way, and the railroad was not built until after the peace had been restored. Then it was built by the Japanese.[42]

There does not seem to have been any clear intention on the

part of Russia to lay a railroad to connect with the main Korean trunk line, although rumors did reach Tokyo in the summer of 1903 that Russia was planning to build from Liao-yang to Uiju. This may have been the result of an article in the North China Herald of May 28, that Russia was getting ready to lay a railroad to connect the Yalu to the CER in order to enable her to concentrate her troops on the Yalu. At any rate the rumor upset the Asahi enough for the paper to call for the Japanese government to warn the Chinese not to give either a formal concession or tacit permission for such a railroad. The paper wanted it made clear that if anybody laid a railroad from Uiju to the CER or to the Chinese line, the Japanese would do it.[43] The Mukden-An-tung (the Chinese city across the Yalu from Uiju) railroad was not built until the Russo-Japanese War. During the war the Japanese Army laid it with a 2.5-foot gauge as a military railway. The agreement signed with China February 26, 1905 allowed the Japanese to change the guage and open the line to the commerce of all nations.

Japanese in Manchuria. When relations between Russia and Japan grew worse, it was the Japanese living in the railroad zone who felt the pressure. The first Japanese, a Russian doctor's maid, had entered Harbin in 1897. Soon she called six more to follow her. In 1899, she invited seven more to come

and do the laundry for the hospital. One of the latter seven opened a restaurant and brought in Japanese girls from Blagoveshchensk. The maid's brother also opened a restaurant, and the Russians provided the house, firewood, and even dug the well. Soon more Japanese came. The beginning of construction on the CER provided the major impetus.[44]

Harbin was divided into three parts, the old city, the new city, and the waterfront district. Most of the Japanese lived and worked in the latter. When they had first come the Russians had provided almost everything. Land was easy to buy, and the Japanese bought, thinking they were getting it free and clear. What they did not know was that there were conditions attached to all land, and as Russo-Japanese relations deteriorated their position became more precarious.

In August 1901 the Asahi complained that the Russians were hindering Japanese merchants; that they were treating Manchuria just like they would Russian territory.[45] In April 1902 the paper carried reports that the Russian authorities were again obstructing Japanese merchants in Newchwang, Port Arthur, Dalnyi, Mukden, T'ieh-ling, Kung-chu-ling and Harbin, and the intention seemed to be to drive the Japanese out.[46]

According to a report of November, the Japanese position in Harbin was not an enviable one. It appeared that ownership of photographer's studios was limited to Russians and Chinese, so

the Japanese had to use Russian names, and of the Japanese merchants only one had the same rights to land as the Russians and Chinese. The rest had to lease land from Russians at one ruble per four square yards, and one of the conditions of the lease was that it could be revoked at any time. Naturally the Japanese didn't invest money in land or build homes. Moreover the Russian officials were just as corrupt as the Chinese. Nothing could be done without bribes. The police chief was reported to be receiving 300 rubles a month from the 11 Japanese brothels. Still, Japanese artisans were recognized as being superior to the Chinese. A Chinese workman received only 80 kopeks a day, while a Japanese got two to three rubles.[47]

The Japanese businessmen had gotten permission from the old chief of police to conduct business, but in January 1902 a new chief was appointed. The following April he inspected the permits, and all those issued by the old chief were taken up. This forced one or two firms out of business. A few days later all firms were forbidden to conduct business regardless of whether they had old or new permits. Since it was right before an important Russian holiday, the merchants sent presents of money to the chief, and he let them remain open for the holiday, saying he would issue new permits. However by August no new permits had been forthcoming, but the Japanese businesses

still operated.[48]

That month when Kawakami Toshihiko and Suzuki Yōnosuke travelled from Vladivostok to Harbin to meet Prince Akihito who was returning from Europe via the Trans-Siberian, they reached an agreement with the police chief. After the Prince had passed, the Japanese whose residence permits had expired, and those who had no permits would be withdrawn outside the railroad zone. After January 1, 1903 no foreigner other than Chinese or Russians would be allowed to reside in the leased territory.[49] For some reason this was never carried out.

The CER auctioned off parcels of land in Harbin for business and residence purposes in May 1902, and February and December 1903. At the first auction the regulations stipulated there would be no hindrance to the eight Japanese who had temporary landownership, but they still had to pay auction fees. At the same time the other Japanese merchants whose permits had been withdrawn in April and whose stores had been ordered closed, received permission to continue operating pending a final settlement. However no new businesses would be allowed to open.[50]

Witte, during his trip to the Far East, sought to settle the matter. He desired to make Harbin a Russian city. Consequently land could only be leased to Russians and Chinese, and the lease agreement must stipulate that the leases could not be

rented or turned over in any way to citizens of other nationalities. Witte also ordered that parcels alloted by the railroad administration to foreigners be liquidated. However he was willing to permit Japanese to reside and conduct business in Dalnyi. There they would be allowed long term leases.[51]

The crackdown evidently began in January 1903. The Asahi reported the Russian authorities were revoking permits. The Japanese merchants went to A. I. Yugovich, Chief Engineer of the CER, but he told them everything was in the hands of the police chief. When they got no satisfaction from the chief, they offered 500 rubles more. The reporter cynically wondered whether or not Russia ever meant to revoke the permits, or whether it was just a ploy by the chief to supplement his monthly salary.[52]

Whatever Witte's desires, the Japanese were never ousted from the railroad zone. In January 1904 when the new Russian police chief in Liao-yang began to examine the permits of the Japanese businessmen, he found no one had one. They told him that the old chief had not told them permits were necessary. When they asked if he would issue the permits, the new chief refused. Thereupon the Japanese appealed to Segawa, Consul in Newchwang. He negotiated an agreement with the head of the police in Harbin whereby the Japanese could get residence permits from the Russians by January 15/28 or leave Liao-yang

and apply at Port Arthur.[53]

The Japanese government had little choice in the matter. Manchuria had not been opened by China, thus no Japanese were allowed in the area. However if they lived in the Russian railroad zone, they were subject to Russian authority. The Russians administered the zone by agreement with the Chinese government. Japan had no rights at all, so the Japanese residents would have to depend on Russian goodwill.[54] The Asahi agreed. The only way to make the position of the Japanese more secure was to have China open all of Manchuria.[55]

Unfortunately there are no exact figures on just how many Japanese there were in Manchuria. Since that part of China had not been opened, the only Japanese consuls were in Newchwang and Vladivostok. Consular jurisdiction was generally split along the line of Mukden. Everything to the south was handled by the Japanese consul in Newchwang, and everything to the north by the Commercial Agent in Vladivostok. As far as the Kwantung peninsula was concerned, the Japanese consul in Chefoo usually knew more about that area than did the consul in Newchwang because all the shipping routes went via Chefoo. Population estimates often overlapped, and two different sets of figures for the same city were not uncommon (Table 8).

The occupations the Japanese engaged in were varied. In Harbin in 1902 there were 10 households of carpenters containing

Table 8. Japanese Population of Manchuria, 1900-1903

1900	544	1902	1,818 (1,722)
1901	767	1903	2,806

Sources: 1900-01, Dai Nihon teikoku nenkan (Tokyo, annual). 1902, Kampō, Aug. 21, 1902; JFMA, "Tō-Shi tetsudō," Segawa to Komura, Aug. 27, 1902, pp. 959-964. 1903, Imai, p. 44.

23 men and eight women; three photo studios with 12 men and two women, and 12 laundries of 40 men and 13 women. In addition there were also 10 general goods stores of 33 men and four women that catered chiefly to the prostitutes: 11 brothels, 45 men and 175 women. The largest number of Japanese lived in Port Arthur: 538, 303 men and 235 women. These included two branches of Japanese companies, 16 general stores, four gold and silver craftsmen, seven laundries, three hotels, four barbers, three blacksmiths, one contractor, and 12 brothels. The rest of the people were in varied occupations.[56] As a generalization it would be fair to say that most of the Japanese were occupied with the small trades, but a few skilled workmen crossed over seeking new opportunities.

Wherever these Japanese gathered, they organized clubs to protect themselves. In August 1902 Segawa reported that most of the Japanese in cities in Manchuria had organized and chosen sōdai (foreman, president). These were influential men who represented the residents in negotiations with the Russian

authorities and petitioned the Japanese consuls for them. In Harbin the Japanese organization was called the Sungari Club, after the river which flowed through the city.[57] In T'ieh-ling it was the Nihonjinkai (Japanese Society).[58] The residents of Dalnyi called themselves the Nihonjin Club and elected Shōji Shōgōro, a graduate of St. Petersburg University and founder of a short-lived Russian language school in Tokyo in February and March 1896, as sōdai.[59] In Liao-yang the Japanese also called themselves the Nihonjinkai.[60]

In addition to the regular reports by Segawa and Kawakami on conditions in their respective jurisdictions, Uchida Yasuya, Minister in Peking, sent his own men through Manchuria to report on Russian activities. One of those men was Shimakawa Kisaburō. Right after the Sino-Japanese War Shimakawa crossed the Gobi desert to Kiakhta and studied Russian, returning to Tokyo via Vladivostok in July 1896. That same November he went to Peking where he was employed by the Chinese government. While there he wrote for the Asahi under a pseudonym. In August 1897 he returned to Tokyo, but four months later decided he wanted to study Russian. This time he went to St. Petersburg across Central Asia. He arrived in the Russian capital in February 1898 and enrolled in the Faculty of Law of St. Petersburg University, writing part-time for the Kokumin shimbun. Komura called him back to Tokyo in June 1901.

He worked part-time in the Foreign Ministry, and in October 1901 was ordered to investigate conditions in Manchuria. He visited Alekseev in Port Arthur and received permission to travel on the CER. North of T'ieh-ling Russian precautions were very strict, and although he had to travel in disguise, he managed to visit Harbin, Kirin and all the other towns of importance. After this trip Uchida Yasuya made him a second interpreter in the Peking Legation.

In his report Shimakawa discussed Russian development in Manchuria paying particular attention to the most important towns, Port Arthur, Dalnyi, Harbin, Liao-yang, Yingkow, etc. The Chinese Eastern Railroad occupied a major place in his report, and he even included about 30 pages on Russian railroads in general. The report took some 390 pages. Shimakawa's premise was that by the railroad and by colonization Russia intended to make Manchuria its own. She would make Harbin a Moscow, Dalnyi an Odessa and Port Arthur a Sevastopol. Consequently he offered some specific conclusions.

He felt there should be Japanese shipping on the Liao River; that the Chinese railroad should be extended to Mukden (it was already almost to Hsin-min-t'un), and he also wanted a railroad from Mukden via Feng-huang-ch'eng to An-tung/Uiju, where it would join the Seoul-Uiju line. From Uiju a branch could be run to Ta-tung-kou and the latter place opened as a

commercial port. In making these suggestions, Shimakawa hoped to deprive the CER of much of its traffic. If freight rates on the Liao River could be lowered, freight would naturally move there, leaving the CER traffic only when the river was frozen. Then by joining Uiju to the Chinese railroad at Mukden, Japan would have the advantage of a rail route into China. The opening of Ta-tung-kou was calculated to steal part of the prosperity of Dalnyi by diverting traffic from the Yalu area to the new port.

Shimakawa also wanted the interior of Manchuria opened. Mukden, Kirin, Tsitsihar, Chinchow, Liao-yang, Feng-huang-ch'eng, Tieh-ling, K'uang-ch'eng-ten, Harbin, etc. should all be open to foreigners, and the Japanese government should give special protection to banks and merchants operating there. He also advocated a plan for the exploitation of Manchurian mineral riches. Mining surveys should be made by the Chinese, employing Japanese engineers and advisers. Japanese advisers should also be employed to train the Manchus and Chinese, and the most important matter was to get back the police rights after the Russians had withdrawn.

To increase trade, the harbor at Newchwang should be improved, and the Japanese given exclusive jurisdiction over their residence area. He also suggested that some of Japan's rapidly increasing population might be sent as emigrants to develop Manchuria.[61]

Another man who made a survey of Manchuria was Tsuruoka Eitarō. His report ran almost 100 pages and was principally concerned with Japanese immigration. To promote Japanese movement into Manchuria, he wanted the three provinces opened to all nations. Consulates could be set up in Tatung-kou, Mukden, Harbin, etc. The army and police rights should be returned to China, and foreigners should be able to buy and sell land freely. The Japanese government on its part should subsidize a Manchuria emigrant company and establish a regular shipping schedule between Osaka-Kobe and Manchuria. In addition, Japan should obtain the right to build railroads from Seoul to Uiju and from P'yŏngyang to Wŏnsan in Korea, from An-tung/Uiju to Yingkow and from Mukden to Huan-jen hsien.[62]

Although the recommendations made by Shimakawa and Tsuruoka were of a private nature, they may have had some influence. Imai thinks they pointed the way for Japanese policy right after the Russo-Japanese War, when so many of the things they proposed were carried out: opening of Manchuria, boats on the Liao River, opening of new ports, establishment of banks, emigration, etc.[63]

By the time of Tsuruoka's report, May-July, 1903, the Japanese were already watching Russian activity in Manchuria closely. In January Uchida reported from Peking that one of his informants had told him it was rumored Russian troops were

concentrating in Mukden, and the Asahi reported that Japanese merchants going to investigate the commercial possibilities in Mukden were given 24 hours to leave.[64] By March, Segawa reported frequent rumors of the outbreak of a Russo-Japanese War were agitating the Japanese in Mukden, T'ieh-ling and Ta-shih-ch'iao. He also noted that the Russians were keeping a closer eye on Japanese activities.[65] One way the Russians did it was by hiring Koreans to serve as informers. They looked like Japanese when they dressed in western clothes, and because they had lived under Russian rule for so long they spoke the language fluently. Many of them also spoke Japanese like natives. Some of the Koreans had Russian names; others had Japanese names. They were in all the towns along the railroad and whenever a suspicious Japanese came through, they would alert the authorities.[66]

In addition to the reports from the consulate in Newchwang, in May 1903 Uchida Yasuya, Minister in Peking, sent three of his own men to Manchuria to keep him posted on developments there. He stationed Tsuruoka Eitarō in Mukden, Yamane Takusaburō in Liao-yang, and Ioriya Toyota in Feng-huang-ch'eng. To pay them, he sent Segawa in Newchwang 500 rubles and instructed him to telegraph Komura any important information these men sent him.[67]

Strategic Considerations. Based on the reports of these

men and its own agents, the Army General Staff began to pay more attention to Russian activity. After Ōyama's memorial of May 12 (see page 243), the division chiefs of the General Staff submitted their own estimate of Russian capability on June 8. These men belonged to a group known as the Kogetsukai, and all favored a more active policy vis-a-vis Russia. (Also included in the Kogetsukai were Foreign Ministry and Naval officials.) As the General Staff saw the situation, Russia would be limited in the number of troops she could send to the Far East by the necessity of protecting her other frontiers. Moreover the troops that she could send would be unprepared. The Russian Army, the Japanese General Staff felt, was poorly educated and insufficiently trained, and the units in the Far East were not ready for war. However Russia's main weakness would be the Trans-Siberian railroad. It consisted of a single unfinished track. Furthermore Russian troops would have to cross Lake Baikal by ferry during the summer and on the ice during the winter. Once they did reach the Far East, the Russian command would have to cope with the topography. In Manchuria operations would be limited to the area between the mountain ranges along the Mongol and Ussuri frontiers. Even within this area, the Russian army could operate only along the railroad, since there was no other means of transport. As regards Korea, the Japanese concluded that Russia would not be

Then in 1901 Russia didn't evacuate Manchuria. Instead she hastened construction of the CER. This caused the General Staff to change its plans. Still, the new plan remained defensive in nature. Not until August 1901 did study of an actual offensive plan begin. It called for Japan to gain control of the sea, then attack with a main thrust into Manchuria and with a smaller operation into the Ussuri. The first would require five divisions, and the second, two divisions. The planners realized that as construction of the Trans-Siberian and CER progressed changes would have to be made, but the basic principle remained the same.[70]

On July 17, 1903 Tamura, Vice-Chief of the General Staff, held a meeting of all those who would belong to the Imperial Headquarters (Daihon'ei) in wartime. The object was to study the possible dispatch of troops to Korea. Colonel Matsukawa Toshitane and Major General Iguchi were sent to Korea to check on material and communications. They returned with their report during the first part of September.[71]

In July the head of the Political Affairs Bureau of the Foreign Ministry, Yamaza Enjirō, also dispatched two young students to Manchuria and Siberia to investigate conditions there. The men were Hirota Kōki, a future Foreign Minister and war criminal, and Hirata Kazuo. Yamaza supplied the money and the introductions necessary for them to make the trip.[72]

July also brought another outbreak of rumors about a Russo-Japanese war. Segawa reported that two or three large merchants had received secret telegrams from their home offices to that effect and that business was beginning to fall off.[73] Although civilian traffic on the CER diminished as the Russian military traffic increased, it was still safe for the Japanese to travel on the railroad. Russians were checking Japanese passenger's tickets only between Port Arthur and Dalnyi.[74] On the 22nd of August Uchida reported that Russian troops seemed to be concentrating around Dalnyi and near the Yalu, and that more reinforcements were on the way.[75]

This movement and the general situation may have prompted Segawa and Tsuruoka to pay particular attention to the CER because they both sent back long reports on it. Segawa's included station names and numbers, a report on the Dalnyi-Yingkow line, data on fast and slow freight, passenger statistics, and fares and freight rates. Tsuruoka payed more attention to the conditions of the line. He described the state of work on the bridges, particularly the one at K'ai-yuan, and the various short branches of the railroad. These branches didn't lead anywhere. One ran east from Ssu-p'ing-kai 15 Chinese li, another east from Kung-chu-ling, and a third east from K'uang-ch'eng-tzu for a short distance. These last two may have acted as sidings. Tsuruoka also reported on work on the stations, the Russians in

in Mukden, the harvest in Kirin province, and the disposition of Russian troops there.[76]

In October there was another spate of rumors of war; this time both in Vladivostok and in Manchuria. A man from the Sungari Club in Harbin told Segawa it may have begun when 100 Japanese left that city within two days. The Chinese saw it and began leaving also. By October 20 it was difficult to buy a ticket for the south. The Russians showed no signs of war, but once again stores had gotten telegrams from their home offices that war was a probability. Komura telegraphed that the rumors were unfounded and instructed the consuls to reassure the Japanese. Thereafter the rumors died down somewhat, but the unusual level of Russian military activity still remained a cause for unease.[77]

On the day scheduled for the last phase of the withdrawal by Russia, October 8, Tsuruoka had an interview with Tseng Ch'i, the governor at Mukden. Tsuruoka asked the governor if he had any word on the Russian evacuation. Tseng replied that he had none, nor had he received any instructions from Peking. When Tsuruoka asked if he would order the Russians to withdraw, Tseng answered that his duty was to keep order and that he would await instructions. Tsuruoka reported from other sources he had heard that the Russian commissar had no intention of withdrawing. He was even building a brick headquarters.

Thereafter Segawa complained that China's rights and interests were being violated daily because of weak men like Tseng Ch'i. The Chinese government had tried to replace him several times, but the Russians had objected. Segawa said the Russians were using Tseng, and he in turn was using them to maintain his own position.[78]

There were reports of increased Russian troop movement on the CER from November through February, and the Russians were also reported to be disbanding the bandits they had hired to protect their Yalu lumbering operation. At the same time the Russians were also attempting to disband the Chinese local militia, the t'uan-lien, and there had been clashes between the Russian troops and the t'uan-lien and bandits. The Russian authorities threatened to shoot as bandits any Chinese they found with weapons, but the t'uan-lien still refused to surrender their arms and even began banding together into larger units to protect themselves. The Chinese official in Liao-yang, at the request of Tseng Ch'i called all the t'uan-lien leaders in and explained to them the reasons for disbanding their organizations, but they were not convinced. When the hsien magistrate of Hai-ch'eng found out the Russians were going to try to force the dissolution of the t'uan-lien and collect their arms, he warned the leader. The leader gathered over 400 men who swore they would fight to the death. Segawa noted that the Russians were losing the

sympathy of the Chinese and that a strong attitude by Japan in Peking would certainly have an effect in Manchuria.[79]

The increased movement of Russian troops, and perhaps the thought of a Chinese Fifth Column, made some Russian authorities anxious. By the fall of 1903 Alekseev and Kuropatkin began to worry about the condition of the CER. According to the original plan, the Russian War Ministry counted on having 20 cars running every 24 hours on the CER by August 1901. This was to increase to five pairs of trains a day beginning January 1, 1904. At the same time the Trans-Siberian was to have allowed the military seven pairs of trains per day.[80] Yet by July and even October 1903 Alekseev telegraphed that the western and eastern portions of the CER allowed him only three pairs of trains for military use, and the southern portion only four trains. Although the Minister of Finance, Eduard Dmitrievich Pleske who had replaced Witte when the latter had been relieved in August, pointed out that the carrying capacity of the CER was not three or four pairs, but seven, Alekseev remained worried.[81]

This weakness may have influenced Kuropatkin in his proposal to give up all of southern Manchuria including Port Arthur, Kwantung and the southern branch of the CER in return for 250 million rubles. He believed that this would avoid a break with Japan and China and would allow Russia to turn her attention back to Europe. Russian interests in Manchuria and Korea just

were not large enough to justify a war. The CER was, and would remain for a long time to come, only of local importance since the freight that would make the line important would continue to go by sea because of the high railroad tariff. Dalnyi needed special promotion or the freight would naturally go by way of Newchwang, and Port Arthur had no value as a defensive point and terminus of the railway unless the CER was part of an international route, and it was not.[82]

On December 15/28, 1903 the Emperor called a conference at Tsarskoe Selo to discuss the latest Japanese proposals (those of December 21). The question was whether or not to continue the negotiations. Lamzdorf, Grand Duke Aleksei Aleksandrovich representing the Navy, Kuropatkin and the Emperor wanted them continued. Only Admiral Abaza objected. He feared any concession to Japan would be taken as a sign of weakness and would encourage the Japanese to demand more. Kuropatkin rejected this claiming Japan was unhappy because Russia had not kept her word. Instead of evacuating Manchuria as she had promised, Russia had begun an enterprise on the Yalu, sent a detachment to Feng-huang-ch'eng, moved troops toward the Yalu, remained in Yingkow and reoccupied Mukden. History showed even small states could begin wars, and Kuropatkin felt a war for southern Manchuria was out of the question. Russia was simply not prepared for war. The CER permitted only three

military trains per day and that was not sufficient to allow the concentration and supply of an army of 300,000 men in Manchuria. Thus Russia must play for time. Furthermore it was difficult to foresee where a war begun in the East would lead. Once again Kuropatkin wanted Russia to turn to the West where her real interest lay.[83]

At the conference of January 15/28, 1904 where the Japanese proposal of January 13 was discussed, Kuropatkin said that if war was inevitable, Russia had to delay it for a year and four months in order to finish the Circumbaikal line and to strengthen the CER. If that was impossible, then it must be delayed for at least four months while Russia sent reinforcements to the Far East.[84] However Japan, seeing that further negotiation was useless, struck first.

What then was the condition of the Trans-Siberian and CER at the beginning of the Russo-Japanese War? On the Chinese Eastern Railroad the main line had been completed with the exception of the part crossing the Hsing-an mountains. Several temporary bridges which had been adapted to regular traffic remained, but they did not demand immediate replacement. A few of the bridges along the sidings and in the yards of the southern branch were lacking, but temporary ones could be built in a short time. Regular water stations had been opened at 44 of the 92 points on the line, and supplies were available at 72

more places. However the increase in traffic might exhaust these quickly. Concerning fuel, supplies were adequate on the eastern part of the line since it ran through a wooded area. On the western section supplies of coal and firewood already on hand and those readily available would last for three months beginning April 1/14, 1904. On the southern part of the line coal reserves totaled 41,000 tons; to this could be added the monthly output and also deliveries of 71,000 tons contracted for already. Some difficulties were to be expected in repairing stock because of the lack of skilled workmen, and as the level of traffic increased more workers would be necessary.[85]

Seeing the weakness of the railroad and the demands that would be put on it, Kuropatkin proposed on January 8/21, 1904 that the eastern and western sections of the CER be strengthened to take seven pairs of military trains a day and the southern section to take 14 pairs, or at least 12. A special conference on January 16/29 heard that the total capacity of the CER at present was six to seven pairs of trains of all types on the western section, and eight pairs of all types on the eastern and southern sections. To increase the capacity to provide for seven military trains on the main line and 12 on the southern section would mean that the total capacity would have to be increased to 10 pairs on the main line and 16 on the southern branch. This, in turn, meant an expansion of capacity on the Trans-Siberian

would be necessary. The Western and Central Siberian sections could handle seven pairs of military trains a day, but the Trans-baikal could not take more than four, and this could only be increased to five in the near future. Taking all this into account the conference decided to improve the CER to handle five pairs of military trains on the main line and nine pairs on the southern branch. This work was accomplished by April 5/18, 1904.[86]

No matter how fast the work went the Army always needed more capacity. Just before he left for the Far East to take command, Kuropatkin sent a memorandum to the Emperor in which he said that the Trans-Siberian and CER would have to be improved to carry 14 pairs of military trains a day and the southern branch of the CER would have to handle 18 pairs.[87] In May Alekseev proposed the capability be increased to 16 pairs on the main line of the CER and 19 on the southern branch. All to be done by August. However this was rejected as too difficult.[88]

Traffic was so heavy that the supply of rolling stock was soon exhausted. Pleske, the Minister of Finance, wrote to Alekseev on May 2/15, 1904 that it would take 3,000 car loads of supplies to strengthen the capacity of the CER. During April 200 car loads had been sent and 201 more were scheduled for May, but of the 1,000 car loads of rails, fastenings and ties necessary only 64 cars had been sent.[89] Ultimately the success

of the railroad in handling what it did must lay with Prince Khilkov the Minister of Ways of Communication. He improved the line, hastened the laying of the Transbaikal section, and as a way of increasing capacity, began sending freight cars to the East that had just been hastily constructed. Once there they were discarded. This increased the capacity of the line enormously.[90]

By May 1/14, 1904 the western section of the CER was handling eight pairs of trains a day of which six or seven were military. On the southern section the military got nine of the 12 trains. This was all the Transbaikal could handle. The completion of the loop around the Hsing-an tunnel on May 5/18 permitted a further increase in the number of military trains. By June 7/20 the western section could handle 11 pairs, and by October this had risen to 16 pairs on the western section and 19 on the southern.[91]

The question of double tracking came up in October, but the Special Conference decided that the CER could handle the load required. The most important matter was to double-track the Trans-Siberian and Transbaikal lines. Because of better construction and better engines, 18 trains a day on the CER were equal to 20 trains on the Trans-Siberian.[92] Yet Kuropatkin called for still more capacity. On November 20/December 3, 1904 in a telegram to the Minister of Ways of Communications he

asked about raising the capacity of both the CER and Trans-Siberian to 24 trains on the Trans-Siberian, 36 on the CER main line and 48 on the southern branch.[93] At the time Kuropatkin was asking for still more capacity, the number of car loads of railroad supplies was decreasing. In October 1904 there had been 556 car loads for the CER, but only 329 in November and 194 in December and instead of 168 in January, only 146 were granted to the railroad. Although 150 had been projected for February 1905 Vladimir Nikolaevich Kokovtsov, the Minister of Finance succeeding Pleske, reported to the Minister of War, that only 107 would be available.[94]

Before the war one of the most important factors in Japanese plans was the estimate of the carrying capacity of the Trans-Siberian and the Chinese Eastern railroads. At the end of December 1903 Tanaka Giichi, on the Staff of the War College, asked for such a study. It was done, and the man who made the report, Colonel Hamatsura, found that the railroad would be able to handle eight trains a day: two of material and six loaded with troops. When Tanaka saw the figures he realized that Russia would be able to field more troops than Japan and asked Hamatsura to lower the number to six trains a day. When Hamatsura objected that he couldn't falsify information to the Emperor, Tanaka explained that if Hamatsura really wanted war, he would have to do it or Itō, Yamagata and Ōyama would

not fight. Hamatsura thought it over for a night and did as Tanaka asked. After the war Motono Ichirō, who had been the Japanese Minister in Vienna, asked Hamatsura about the low estimate made by the General Staff, saying that the civilians had made a more accurate guess. Hamatsura explained it by saying that men made the estimates, not machines. Those desiring a fight estimated it at six trains, anti-war advocates might have put it at 10-15 trains. Motono said he understood, that it was probably Tanaka behind it.[95]

The Japanese also looked into plans for destroying the railroad. In November 1903 Uchida Ryōhei approached Kodama Gentarō, Vice-Chief of the Central Staff after Tamura Iyozō's death, with a plan. Uchida said that Russia's capability for transporting war material and men to the Far East was probably greater than anyone estimated. Furthermore while Manchuria could not support the Russian army during the first year, it could during the second. Uchida's plan was to cut the Russian supply line by using Manchurian bandits. Men from the Kokuryūkai would be in charge, but they would have to leave now so as to be in place before the war broke out. The only thing the Army would have to supply was explosives, a little money, and one or two liaison officers. If the plan failed Uchida would take the blame. If it succeeded, he would give credit to Kodama.

Kodama was interested enough to tell Uchida to come back in a few days. When Uchida returned Kodama told him a General Staff conference would be necessary, but in the meantime he wanted Uchida to talk to a major in the engineers. The major told Uchida he could aim at the tunnels, but it might be better to hit the curved rails. When the major asked how the explosives could be transported, Uchida told him the bandits would do it. After the General Staff conference, Kodama called Uchida back. There he told Uchida it could not be done. No one opposed the plan itself. It just was not possible.[96]

Yet a plan for blowing up the railroad did not die there. Colonel Aoki Norizumi, the Japanese military attache in Peking, may have been planning something with his Chinese agents. In January 1904 Kodama instructed Captain Idogawa to proceed to Peking and place himself under Aoki's direction. There is no more word on Idogawa's project until November when Aoki telegraphed Iguchi that there weren't enough explosives and it was difficult getting someone familiar with conditions west of Lake Baikal, so it looked like any possibility of blowing up the Trans-Siberian had to be ruled out.[97]

Tani Toshio who wrote a history of the Russo-Japanese War while an instructor at the War College blamed Japanese Intelligence for the fact that the Trans-Siberian was not destroyed. Early in the war someone had said that the tunnel

through the Greater Hsing-an mountain range could be destroyed for only ¥300. However General Fukushima Yasumasa, Chief of the 2nd Department (Intelligence) of the General Staff, would not agree, and the matter was dropped.[98]

The Japanese were determined to build railroads in Korea, and as the situation with Russia became more acute that determination increased. Certainly Komura was resolved to see that the government not only supported the Seoul-Pusan line, but also gained control of the Seoul-Uiju railroad and perhaps even of another line to Mokp'o on the southwestern coast of Korea. Then in December the issue was settled when the government took over construction of the entire Pusan-Seoul-Uiju trunk line. The weak Russian attempts in February and July 1903 to gain a concession for the Seoul-Uiju railroad were easily thwarted.

In Manchuria the Russians began extending their own railroad net and obtaining concessions that would ensure their position in the Three Eastern Provinces. The Japanese and Europeans watched, and the Japanese would have been content to exchange Manchuria for Korea had the Russians been willing. The position of the Japanese citizens in Manchuria was not an enviable one. They had no right to be there, but were attracted by the opportunity the Russian railroad offered. In the railroad zone they were at the mercy of the Russians. Outside the zone the Chinese could expel them since Manchuria had not been opened to

foreign residents and merchants. Still, the Russian government does not appear to have been serious about excluding them.

With deteriorating relations the Russians and the Japanese became more concerned with the condition of the railroad. The Russian officials in the Far East needed increased capacity to support an army should a war break out, and the Japanese needed to know the carrying capacity in order to formulate their own plans. Japanese estimates were kept deliberately low in order to justify a war, but the Russians managed to sustain a flow of men and material over the railroad that exceeded everyone's estimate. That the Japanese never cut the line was unfortunate for them, but it might also say something for the Russian ability to protect it. Then when the war ended Japan went to the peace conference prepared to get her share of the spoils, and the Russian railroad was included in Japan's share.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Shibusawa denki shiryō, 455-458.

[2]Shibusawa Eiichi, Shibusawa Eiichi jijoden (Tokyo, 1938), pp. 757-758.

[3]Chōsen tetsudō shi (1915), pp. 163-168. Shibusawa denki shiryō, 463-472. Segai Inoue kō den, V, 45-50.

[4]Shibusawa denki shiryō, 472-475. Itō den, III, 622. Japan. Army Ministry. Meiji Tennō godenki shiryō: Meiji gunji shi (Tokyo, 1966), II, 1291-1295. Asahi, Dec. 25, 1903. For an English translation of the ordinances see USDS. Japan. Griscom to Hay, Dec. 31, 1903.

[5]Komura gaikō shi, I, 206-215; esp. 213-214.

[6]NGB, XXXIV, No. 469, Komura to Hayashi, Oct. 4, 1901.

[7]Ibid., No. 470, Hayashi to Komura, Oct. 23, 1901.

[8]NGB, XXXV, No. 258, Hayashi to Komura, Feb. 26; No. 259, Komura to Hayashi, Feb. 28, 1902.

[9]Ibid., No. 262, Hayashi to Komura, May 13, 1902.

[10]JFM. Nihon gaikō nenpyō narabi ni shuyō bunsho (Tokyo, 1965), I, 206-208.

[11]NGB, XXXVI/I, No. 637, Hagiwara to Komura, Jan. 12; No. 638, Komura to Hagiwara, Jan. 13; No. 639, Hagiwara to Komura, Jan. 15; No. 641, same, Jan. 29, 1903.

[12]Ibid., No. 642, Hayashi to Komura, Feb. 17; No. 643, same, Feb. 17; No. 644, same, Feb. 18; No. 650, same, Feb. 21; No. 648, Komura to Kurino, Feb. 19; No. 653, same, Feb. 23, 1903. Chōsen tetsudō shi (1915), pp. 137-141.

[13]Ibid., No. 651, Hayashi to Komura, Feb. 22; No. 655, Komura to Hayashi, March 18, 1903.

[14]Asahi, May 13, 1903.

[15]NGB, XXXVI/I, No. 418, Hayashi to Komura, June 8, 1903.

[16]Ibid., No. 1, Komura's presentation, June 23, 1903.

[17]Ibid., No. 622, Hayashi to Komura, July 18; No. 666, same, July 20; No. 667, same, July 22, 1903. There is no mention of such a decision being made at Port Arthur by either Glinskii or Romanov.

[18]"Takeuchi jijoden," 462-464. NGB, XXXVI/I, No. 683, Hayashi to Komura, Sept. 10, 1903.

[19]CER. I.O., pp. 99. Harmon Tupper, To the Great Ocean (Boston, 1965), pp. 331-332.

[20]Ibid., p. 107. [21]Romanov, p. 426, n. 49.

[22]Tupper, pp. 331-332. "Tō-Shi tetsudō," pp. 837-838, Kawakami to Katō, March 7, 1902.

[23]Selikhov, pp. 88-89. [24]The Times, March 29, 1902.

[25]"Shiberia tetsudō no kansei," Gaikō jihō, V, 3 (March, 1902), 181-190; 4 (April, 1902), 228-238; 6 (June, 1902), 409-416; 7 (July, 1902), 469-472. The above information comes from the last part of the article.

[26]"Shiberia tetsudō," pp. 474-497.

[27]Asahi, March 28, 1902. Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 264 (April 5, 1903), p. 28. Kampō, April 7, 1903.

[28]Consular Reports, No. 269 (Feb., 1903), p. 305.

[29]CER. I.O., pp. 182-184.

[30]"Tō-Shi tetsudō," pp. 443-458, Segawa to Komura, Aug. 27, 1902.

[31]Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 262 (March 15, 1903), p. 29.

[32]Ibid., pp. 12-14.

[33]CER. I.O., p. 147. The Times, Dec. 18, 1903 contains an article from the Russian newspaper Dalnyi Vostok pronouncing the failure of the Dalnyi experiment. Putnam Weale, Manchu and Muscovite (London, 1907), even has a chapter entitled "Dalnyi the Doomed," but H. J. Whigham, Manchuria and Korea (London, 1904) was much more optimistic concerning Dalnyi. See particularly pp. 11-12.

[34]Ibid., 190-191.

[35]Malozemoff, p. 48. Harold P. Ford, "Russian Far Eastern Diplomacy, Count Witte and the Penetration of China, 1895-1904," (Unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Chicago, 1950), pp. 69-70.

[36]British Documents, I, 8, O'Conor to Salisbury, Jan. 30, 1898.

[37]Asahi, May 2, 1900.

[38]Tōyō keizai shimpō, No. 254 (June 15, 1902), pp. 34-35.

[39]July 4, 1902.

[40]"Tō-Shi tetsudō," pp. 1065-1066, Kawakami to Komura, Aug. 13, 1903.

[41]USDS. Newchwang. Miller to Conger, March 5, 1902.

[42]Ibid., Romanov, pp. 286-287. Romanov claims Glinskii deleted this passage. Also "Tō-Shi tetsudō," pp. 1004-1005, Suzuki (Vladivostok) to Komura, Feb. 8, 1903. A copy of the Russo-Chinese agreement for the Ch'ang-ch'un-Kirin line may be seen in MacMurray, I, 629-631.

[43]June 6, 1903.

[44]Irie, Hōjin kaigai, pp. 437-439. Kampō, Aug. 21, 1902.

[45]Asahi, Aug. 7, 1901. [46]Asahi, April 24, 1902.

[47]Asahi, Nov. 17, 1902. Whigham, p. 56.

[48]"Tō-Shi tetsudō," pp. 965-967, Segawa to Komura, Aug. 27, 1902.

[49]Imai, p. 49. [50]Asahi, July 11, 1902.

[51]Glinskii, pp. 227, 233. [52]Jan. 29, 1903.

[53]JFMA. MT 5.1.10.17. "Manshū naichi ni okeru Ro-gun no dōsei shisatsu no tame zai-Shin teikoku kōshikan yori Tsuruoka, Yamane oyobi Ioriya no sammei haken ikken, April 1903-Feb. 1904." reel 467, pp. 198-204, Uchida to Komura, Jan. 19, 1904 (Hereafter "Manshū naichi,").

[54]Imai, p. 50. [55]Asahi, Feb. 2, 1903.

[56]"Tō-Shi tetsudō," pp. 959-962, Segawa to Komura, Aug. 27, 1902.

[57]Ibid., p. 971. For the club's regulations see pp. 974-976. Irie, Hōjin kaigai, p. 448.

[58]Ibid., pp. 972-974. [59]Asahi, March 16, 1903.

[60]Asahi, May 10, 1903.

[61]JFMA. MT 1.6.1.14. "Shimakawa Kisaburō Manshū shisatsu hōkoku, Feb.-Oct., 1902." reel 147, pp. 208, 363-364 for the conclusions. Imai Shōji, "Nichi-Ro sensō to tai-Shin seisaku no tenkai," Kokusai seiji: Nihon gaikō shi kenkyu. Nitchū kankei no tenkai, No. 15 (1961), pp. 20-22. For biographical information see Tai-Shi kaiko roku, II, 1471-1474.

[62]"Manshū naichi," pp. 45-141, Uchida to Komura, Aug. 19, 1903. See particularly pp. 84-90.

[63]Imai, "Tai-Shin seisaku no tenkai," p. 22.

[64]Jan. 29, 1903.

[65]NGB, XXXVI/I, No. 812, Segawa to Komura, March 14, 1903.

[66]Asahi, May 5, 1903.

[67]"Manshū naichi," pp. 10-11, Uchida to Komura, May 18, 1903.

[68]Tani, Kimitsu senshi, pp. 83-84. Okamoto, pp. 72-76.

[69]Ibid., pp. 85-93.

[70]Ibid., pp. 94-95. Matsushita Yoshio, a well-known military historian, believes that Russia became the "hypothetical enemy" with Yamagata's memorial of April 1895, Meiji gunsei shiron (Tokyo, 1956), II, 440. On the other hand, Inaba Masao, another prominent historian, thinks that defense against Russia was the basis of military expansion after the establishment of the Meiji Army and Navy. See his introduction to the reprint of Kaigun gunbi enkaku (Tokyo: Gannandō, 1970), p. 1.

[71]Tani, p. 96. [72]Hasegawa, Yamaza, pp. 73-76.

[73]NGB, XXXVI/I, No. 849, Segawa to Komura, July 7, 1903.

[74]Ibid., No. 851, Segawa to Komura, July 25; No. 854, same, Aug. 7, 1903.

[75]"Manshū naichi," pp. 142-146, Uchida to Komura, Aug. 22, 1903.

[76]Ibid., pp. 147-161, Uchida to Komura, Sept. 27, 1903. "Tō-Shi tetsudō," pp. 1068-1116, Segawa to Komura, Sept. 23, 1903.

[77]NGB, XXXVI/I, Nos. 856-872, Oct. 6-26, 1903.

[78]"Manshū naichi," pp. 162-165, Uchida to Komura, Oct. 19, 1903. NGB, XXXVI/I, No. 877, Segawa to Komura, Nov. 20, 1903.

[79]NGB, XXXVI/I, No. 877, Segawa to Komura, Nov. 20; No. 878, same, Nov. 30; No. 881, same, Dec. 23, 1903.

[80]Aleksei N. Kuropatkin, The Russian Army and the Russo-Japanese War, trans. A. B. Lindsay (New York, 1909), I, 243-244.

[81]Ibid., 131, CER. I.O., pp. 268-269.

[82]Ibid., 189-193. "Dnevnik Kuropatkina," 90.

[83]"Dnevnik Kuropatkina," 95-97. [84]Ibid., 103-105.

[85]CER. I.O., pp. 236-238. [86]Ibid., pp. 239-240.

[87]Kuropatkin, I, 252-253. [88]CER. I.O., p. 241.

[89]Ibid., p. 243.

[90]Komura gaikō shi, II, 111. [91]CER. I.O., p. 246.

[92]Ibid., pp. 249, 270. [93]Ibid., p. 246.

[94]Ibid., pp. 244-245.

[95]Tanaka Giichi denki kankōkai, Tanaka Giichi denki (Tokyo, 1958), I, 229-242.

[96]Ryōhei den, pp. 269-272.

[97]JFMA. MT 5.2.2.11. "Shiberia tetsudō hakai keikaku ikken, Jan.-Nov., 1904," reel 475, p. 3, Komura to Eitaki, Jan. 14, 1904; p. 4, Aoki to Iguchi, Nov. 11, 1904.

[98]Tani, pp. 254-255.

POST-WAR AND CONCLUSION

When Komura Jutarō led the Japanese delegation to Portsmouth in the summer of 1905, he was prepared. The Japanese had copies of both the secret Sino-Russian treaty of 1896 and of the telegrams exchanged between Li Hung-chang and the Tsung-li yamen during the time the treaty was being negotiated. In addition they also had a fairly detailed list of all the Russian concessions in Manchuria.

The telegrams and a draft of the treaty had been published in the Chung-wai jih-pao, a reformist newspaper in Shanghai, on December 31, 1903 and January 1, 1904. Yet even with these public, Prince Ch'ing would not admit the existence of a treaty until May 13, 1904. At an interview with Uchida Yasuya, the Japanese Minister, he disclaimed any responsibility for the treaty and said he had not even found out about it until the Russian Minister had returned the original after it had been plundered by Russian troops during the Boxer Rebellion. However he did allow the Japanese to copy the original in the Wai-chiao-pu on June 24.[1]

At Portsmouth when Komura said he wanted to discuss the origin of the CER, Witte said there was no need. It was just like all the other Russian railroads, private, but government supervised which meant it could be used for national purposes in

time of emergency. Komura rejected this, claiming the line had a special character, and asked if the origins and purpose could not be found in the secret Sino-Russian treaty of 1896. Witte admitted it could. Komura then went on to observe that the treaty called for the railroad to carry troops in case of a war between China and Japan and that made it a military railroad. Witte replied that Komura had not struck through to the truth of the matter, probably due to lack of documents, but he would speak frankly. The railroad had been necessary to avoid the difficulties and cost inherent in the Amur route. During the negotiations in Moscow with Li, the Chinese statesman had remarked that if Russia would agree to aid China in the event of a Japanese attack, permission would be given to lay the railroad. Russia had suggested a mutual obligation for China to come to Russia's aid in case of a Japanese attack on Russian territory, and it had been signed. The treaty had no aggressive nature, and the Russian government realized that the mutual aid provision would be meaningless. It had been a device to gain permission for the railroad. As proof of this Witte pointed to Russian actions in 1900 in joining the subjugation of China and to the fact that at the beginning of the present war Russia had not asked China that the treaty be brought into force. Witte said he realized that Japan considered the southern branch of the line a threat, so Russia would cede the leased territory to Japan, and the railroad would

be included, but the main line would not be. That left the problem of how much of the southern branch Japan would get, and it was finally decided to make Ch'ang-ch'un the dividing point.[2]

After gaining the right to the Russian railroads south of Ch'ang-ch'un at Portsmouth, all that remained was for Japan to get China's approval. Komura also conducted those negotiations. After much discussion China agreed to the assumption of the Russian rights by the Japanese, but was reluctant to grant the other Japanese demands. Still, the Japanese got the right to rebuild the military railroad between An-tung and Mukden and operate it for 15 years, thus ensuring communication between their Korean lines and the South Manchurian railroad. Regarding the Ch'ang-ch'un--Kirin railroad, China was to be allowed to supply capital and build it, but any necessary loans would be supplied by the Japanese. In addition no other foreigners were to be allowed to build railroads in Kirin. As for the Japanese military railroad between Mukden and Hsin-min-t'un, the treaty called for the two governments to agree on a fair price. China would rebuild and operate it, and Japan would supply the money for the section east of the Liao River. Finally China agreed not to build any railroads that would compete with the SMR.[3]

This in effect consolidated Japan's position in southern Manchuria and set the stage for further expansion. It should not be supposed, however, that there was unanimity on a course

of action. By May of 1906 the civil officials in Tokyo and the military authorities in Manchuria were already at odds over Manchurian policy, and problems had arisen with China over interpretation of the treaty.[4] Several things seem evident from the foregoing study. One is the fact that in claiming a strategic necessity for a Trans-Siberian railroad, Russian officials clearly overestimated Sino-British strength and intentions and displayed a general ignorance of China. Those in the Far East placed far too much credence in Chinese intentions and took too little cognizance of fundamental Chinese weaknesses. They simply did not know how many Chinese there were in Manchuria or what the rate of immigration was as their estimates show. Nor did the Russians correctly judge the Chinese military reforms, and the inertia of the old traditions. Whatever the number of newly trained troops it could be only a small percentage of the old style army. Just because the English engineer C. W. Kinder was surveying a railroad through Manchuria to the Russian border did not mean the railroad would be built. The Chinese record on railroad building even at that time was very poor. Vyshnegradskii understood this when he referred to Chinese hostility to railroad construction.

Work began on the Trans-Siberian in May 1891 in Vladivostok. It moved along steadily, even faster than anticipated. This pace was accelerated by the Sino-Japanese War. After the war

the budget for construction increased dramatically as the Russian government recognized a new power in the Far East. However, along with an increasing pace of construction, the war also brought new opportunities.

When Russia took the initiative in making Japan renounce occupation of the Liaotung peninsula in 1895 and in extending China a loan to pay for the Japanese indemnity, the way was opened for Russian penetration. Playing on Chinese fears of Japan, Russia offered a 15-year defensive alliance in return for a short cut for the Trans-Siberian. The Amur route had shown itself too difficult and costly and a line running through Manchuria promised many advantages. Once Russia had this, the next logical step was to obtain an ice-free port for the railroad. There were two possibilities: Korea or the Liaotung peninsula. The press in Russia and Japan discussed both, and the Russian public seemed to favor the former. The occasion brought out a difference of opinion in the Russian government. Not so much over a choice between Korea or the Liaotung, although there were those who favored the Korean alternative, as over how the railroad concession should be gained in Manchuria. The Foreign Minister wanted to use the opportunity offered by the German annexation of the Shantung peninsula, while the Finance Minister preferred to wait and let the plum fall when the time was economically ripe. The Foreign Minister had his way, and

Russia was ensconced in the same position she had made Japan evacuate.

After the Sino-Japanese War Russia emerged as the most formidable enemy Japan faced, and Japan immediately began preparation for increasing her armed services. At the same time she began to collect information on Russia. Men, both official and unofficial, travelled through Siberia observing fortifications, the railroad, troops and conditions in general. However, the attitude of the Japanese toward Russia was not so hostile as the statements of some government officials would lead one to believe.

Aoki Shūzō, Yamagata's foreign minister and later minister to Germany, was particularly anti-Russian. While the Trans-Siberian was still in the talking stage in St. Petersburg he was urging an alliance with China to push Russia out of Siberia and for agreements with Great Britain and Germany to allow Japan and China to do it. However his suggestions do not seem to have been taken very seriously. Nor do the warnings of Yamagata. He saw the railroad as a threat to Korea and therefore to Japan and wanted Japan's defenses put in order, but financial difficulties made it almost impossible, and it was not until after the Sino-Japanese War when the Russian threat had become imminent that Japan began to expand her armed forces in earnest. Kawakami Soroku, Vice-Chief of the General Staff, the body concerned with planning, told Kōno Hironaka that Japan would

definitely attack Russia before construction of the Trans-Siberian was completed. Whether this was just to get increased budget appropriations or was an actual statement of intent will never be known, but more than likely it was the former. According to Ishimitsu Makiyo, who worked on the General Staff in 1899, only about five men were assigned to Russia, hardly enough for preparations for war. Tani Toshio in his confidential history of the Russo-Japanese War, claimed that although planning for a war with Russia had begun after the Sino-Japanese conflict, no serious work was done by the General Staff until 1900, and even then planning was defensive in nature. Not until August 1901 did study of an actual offensive plan begin. Nor could Uchida Ryōhei, one of those ronin who most earnestly advocated a war with Russia, persuade the anti-Russian Prince Konoe Atsumarō that a war with Russia was necessary. Thus it would seem that up until the Russian occupation of Manchuria a war with Russia was not much considered, although many pointed to the railroad as a potential threat.

The place of Korea in Russo-Japanese relations is crucial. Yet Russia never really had much interest in that country. She wanted to deny it to Japan, but she made little determined effort to expand her own influence there. One indication of this may be seen in the question of railroads. Not only was Russia not behind the French concession for the Seoul-Uiju railroad, the

Russian Chargé refused to support the French request for further concessions, considering the lines too political. The Japanese of course didn't know this, and they saw the French Seoul-Uiju line as just one step toward connecting Seoul with the CER and the ultimate Russian domination of Korea. In spite of the calls in the Russian press for a railroad to Port Lazarev, no evidence exists that the Russians were seriously considering such a line.

The Russian navy's interest in Korea was in a base on the southern coast. Admiral Tyrtov claimed that with such a base Russia could threaten Japanese shipping and protect her own routes between Vladivostok and Port Arthur. Surely he must have seen that of all places Japan could never allow a Russian squadron into southern Korea. Moreover Tyrtov never answered Murav'ev's earlier criticism that Pusan or the southern tip of Korea would be a poor choice because it was so far from the Russian railroad. In other words without a railroad how could Russia defend such a position? The Navy Ministry's reasoning will never be known until the Soviet government opens the archives.

On the other hand, Japan had a very great interest in Korea, but this should not be overestimated. It is one thing to express a vital interest in the press and memoranda; it is quite another thing to actually do something about it. Consider the fact

that Japan had gotten the right to build railroads from Seoul to Pusan and Inchon in 1894, but never followed up with proposals. The Japanese even lost the concession for the Seoul-Inchon line to the American J. R. Morse, but got it back when he couldn't raise money to build it either. Even when the promoters went to Itō and Mutsu to ask for government permission to construct the Seoul-Pusan railroad, the two ministers rejected the idea, and then only approved it after reconsideration. Yet the Korean government would not permit construction until 1898, and once the Japanese had gotten permission to go ahead, they had great difficulty raising the capital. Without Japanese government support the line would have taken years, and the Japanese government stepped in and took over only because of the impending Russo-Japanese War. Katsura, Yamagata, Komura and Katō were the principal supporters in the government, but the genro, Itō, Inoue and Matsukata proved reluctant. The former two feared international complications, and the latter saw only another burden on the treasury. Nor did the many changes of government help. Still it should be noted that the Russian railroads in Manchuria and Siberia and the stronger Russian position they implied did increase Japanese awareness of the necessity of a Seoul-Pusan railroad.

What did the railroad do for Russia? Politically it drew her deeper and deeper into Chinese affairs in order to protect

her investment. The Boxer Rebellion made the occupation of Manchuria a necessity (in some eyes), and the Russians showed little intention of leaving. Then to protect the railroad economically Russia began closing the "open door," thus bringing herself into conflict with Japan, the United States and Britain.

The Trans-Siberian railroad also had a very definite economic impact on trade in the Far East, but not the one expected. Until 1900 the Russian Far East had been exempt from the European duty because Russia simply could not supply her Far Eastern territories with cheap Russian goods. However the completion of the Trans-Siberian meant that now cheap foreign goods could be transported into the heartland of Siberia and perhaps even to European Russia duty free. The Russian merchants in Europe, protected by one of the highest tariff walls in the world, would certainly not countenance this, and so the European duty was introduced into the Far East. The port of Vladivostok began to stagnate as trade moved to Dalnyi and Port Arthur which remained duty free to attract traffic and revenue to the CER. Consequently, the railroad far from becoming a transit route for Japanese goods to Siberia and Europe, acted as a catalyst to restrict further trade in the Far East.

In one other respect the railroad conferred a dubious advantage. The Chinese Eastern had been built because of the difficulty and costliness that the Amur line would have brought.

Yet even with the CER the Amur railroad was not abandoned. Both officials in the Far East and Kuropatkin, Minister of War, insisted it was necessary since Japan could easily cut the CER in time of war. Kuropatkin even got Nicholas' approval for construction in August 1903, and the line was built after the Russo-Japanese War. It would be interesting to speculate on what would have happened had Russia built the Amur line in the first place and ignored the allures of Manchuria.

What did the railroad do for Japan besides serve as a warning of a stronger Russian presence? It probably accelerated the opening of ports to trade, particularly on the Japan Sea coast. These ports were first opened to trade with Siberia and then to all countries, but they remained restricted to Japanese shipping. The Russian railroad may also have spurred railroad construction in Japan. On two lines in particular the promoters called attention to the Trans-Siberian. Those interested in building between Miyazu and Maizuru and Kyoto-Osaka cited the need for a railroad for both defensive and economic reasons. Further north a group of men formed a company and built a branch from the main Hokuriku trunk line to the port of Nanao on the Noto peninsula, a port opened for trade with Siberia.

The railroad and the economic prosperity it brought to Siberia and Manchuria also attracted Japanese to those areas. Yet for the most part the Japanese were never very

successful businessmen. Competition was stiff, and the Japanese had little financial support, but the majority of them were not businessmen anyway. A good number were skilled workers and were much in demand, but prostitution and its satellite businesses occupied most of the Japanese. In 1902 Shimakawa Kisaburō found that in Harbin only two Japanese businesses catered to people other than Japanese.

In Japan itself the railroad apparently served as the impetus for the opening of several language schools, but most of them failed within a relatively short time. Students were attracted because they saw a Russian threat and because they saw an economic opportunity for Japan, but the latter never materialized, and it was the only profession that could sustain any number of Russian linguists. The Russian duty kept the trade low, but there was also little to trade. The principal Japanese imports were fish and kerosene and the exports were fruit, coal, tea and other items that really did not depend on the railroad for transport to Europe. Only two Japanese shipping lines had regular service to Vladivostok and both of them were heavily subsidized.

If the railroad's promise was never realized that did not mean it had no effect. On the contrary, the railroad had a very definite impact. It drew Russia deeper and deeper into the Chinese morass, and it signaled to Japan a new threat to the Far

East, although one tempered with opportunity. Then after the war the Russian railroad and the new Japanese military railroads served as a springboard for a developing Japanese imperialism.

FOOTNOTES

[1]Uchida Yasuya denki hensan i'inkai, Uchida Yasuya (Tokyo, 1969), pp. 88-91. Komura gaikō shi, I, 108. Nichi-Ro kōshō shi, pt. 1, pp. 302-303. NGB, Nichi-Ro sensō, V, No. 262, Katsura to Komura, Aug. 11, 1905.

[2]NGB, Nichi-Ro sensō, V, 452-464.

[3]Nihon gaikō nenpyō, I, 255-257. White, pp. 330-343, 364-368.

[4]Baba Akira, "Nichi-Ro sensōgo no tairiku seisaku," Kokusai seiji. Nihon gaikō shi kenkyū. Nisshin-Nichi-Ro sensō, No. 19 (1961), pp. 134-150. Kurihara Ken, "Nichi-Ro sengo ni okeru Manshū zengo sochi mondai to Hagiwara shodai Hōten sōryoji," in Kurihara Ken, ed., Tai-Man-Mō seisaku shi no ichimen (Tokyo, 1966), pp. 9-35.

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Japan. Foreign Ministry Archives. MT 2.1.1.2. Kankoku ni kansuru Nichi-Ro kyōyaku zakken, 1896-1898 韓国ニ関スル日露協約雑件 (Miscellaneous documents relating to the Russo-Japanese agreements concerning Korea), microfilm reel no. 277.

----------. MT 5.1.10.17. Manshū naichi ni okeru Ro-gun no dōsei shisatsu no tame zai-Shin teikoku kōshikan yori Tsuruoka, Yamane oyobe Ioriya no sammei haken ikken, April 1903-February 1904 滿洲ニ於ケル露軍ノ動靜視察ノ為在清帝国公使館ヨリ鶴岡山根及庵谷ノ三名派遣一件 (Documents relating to the despatch of Tsuruoka, Yamane and Ioriya of the Japanese Legation in China to investigate the movements of the Russian army in the hinterland of Manchuria), microfilm reel no. 467.

----------. MT 5.2.2.11. Shiberia tetsudō hakai keikaku ikken, January-November 1904 西比利亞鉄道破壊計画一件 (Documents relating to plans for the destruction of the Siberian railroad), microfilm reel no. 475.

----------. MT 1.7.3.5. Shiberia tetsudō kankei zassan, July 1890-December 1907 西比利亞鉄道関係雑纂 (Miscellaneous documents relating to the Siberian railroad), microfilm reel no. 604.

----------. MT 1.6.1.14. Shimakawa Kisaburō Manshū shisatsu hōkoku, February-October 1902 島川毅三郎滿洲視察報告 (Shimakawa Kisaburō's report on his observations in Manchuria), microfilm reel no. 147.

----------. Telegram series, 1894-1903.

----------. S 6.1.9.2-12. Tō-Shi tetsudō kankei ikken zassan, October 1895-October 1910 東清鉄道関係一件雑纂 (Miscellaneous documents relating to the Chinese Eastern Railroad), microfilm reel no. 147.

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